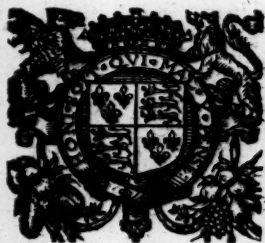
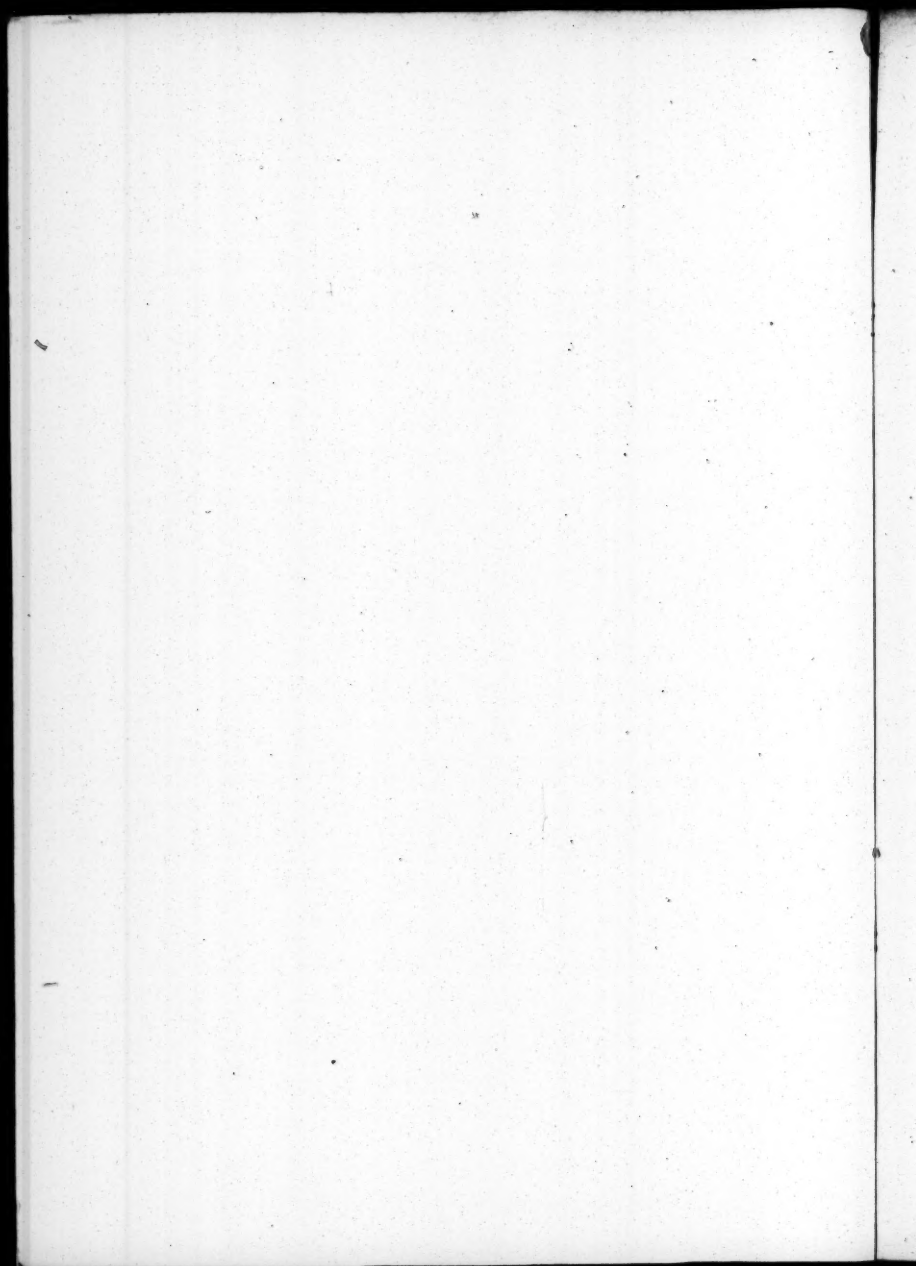


A true report of the
Disputation or rather priuate Confe-
rence had in the Tower of London, with
Ed. Campion Iesuite, the last of August, 1581.
Set downe by the Reuerend learned men
them selues that dealt
therein,

Whereunto is ioyned also a true report
of the other three dayes conferences had there
with the same Iesuite. Which nowe are thought
meete to be published in print
by authoritie.



IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Christopher Barker, Printer to the
Queenes most excellent Maiestie.
Ianuarij. 1. 1583.



Collated & Perfect.

Lines 1082

Woods Ash Oxen P206

Tanner But Bird 125

Bush 1581

Amesbury, May 11

225.a.26

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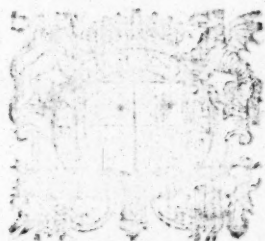


IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Christopher Barker, Printer to the
Queenes most excellent Maiestie.
Iaanuaj. 2. 1583.

A true report of the

Dissolution of rather private Con-
fession had in the Tower of London, with
Ed. Campion's letters, the last of August, 1581.
Set down by the Reverend learned men
of the same University
therein

Whereunto is joined also a true report
of the other three dayes conference had there
with the same learned. Which now is brought
to be published in print
by authority.



IMPRINTED AT LONDON

by Christopher Barker Printer to the

Queens most Excellent Majesty.

London. 1583.

To the Reader.



After Campions Booke being at large answered shortly after our conference with him; which was concerning certaine points in the beginning of the sayd booke onely: and our sayd conference also, being partly remembered in the sayde answer of his booke, (though we had immediatly vpon the said conference, set downe in writing certaine notes of the same, out of our fresh memory to all intents:) Yet we thought there was no cause, the

whole booke being confused, why we should publish our dealing with him, concerning a few pointes in the beginning thereof onely, specially Master Campion being now dead, and not to reple thereunto himselfe: so that we layd aside our notes, and without all thought of any publishing of them at all. But there hauing bene sithen by others the fauourers of him and his cause partly in print, but in written Pamphlets much more dispersed, wherein Master Campions furnished glorious conquest against vs, is exceedingly set forth, and some of them so confidently, that in the conclusion thereof the Authour saith: *The Catholikes by the iudgement of those that were not wedded wholy to will, did get the Goale.* And againe: *In my soule I protest, that in any indifferent iudgement, the aduerse protestants were quite confounded: and if I were not a Catholique already, the only hearing of this conference, would haue made me one.*

Vpon such vntruthes and impudencie of such writers, we were partly of our selues enclined, and by the often and earnest exhortations of others importuned, and by some of great authoritie almost inforced to set downe the true report of the saide conference: whereby we trust that all those Catholiques, as they would be called, that haue any sparke of shamefastnesse left, may blush for Master Campions sake, being so manifestly deprehended in so many lyes so braggingly aduouched, and in print in the Latin tongue published to the world.

Surely we doe thinke our selues, and may say in trueth, that if we had bene so openly conuicted, so many wayes and in such sorte, as Master Campion then was: we should while we liued, be ashamed to shewe our faces. And we haue indeede had to doe, out of our fresh memories often made reporte of diuers partes of this our conference vnto diuers persons as occasion hath serued, and not dissembled that we found not Campion such a man, as by his challenge and booke, and other mens reportes of him we looked for: and that vpon this our conference with him, we verely thought the booke published in his name, to haue bene none of his. But by such Pamphlets as these be, and like reports by word, his furnished victories against vs were so speedily spread abroad, that diuers Gentlemen and others, neither vnlearned, nor of them selues euill affected, gaue not much credite to our sayings: of that value is the first report in some eares and heades, which hath among other things moued vs not a litle, to set downe at the last this our true report of our saide

To the Reader.

conference, vpon hope, that truth in time may take place. We doe knowe they will caull at this, as our biting of a dead man; whome being aliue, they will say, we could not all marcke. But the truth is, we doe defende our schies against the backbitings of many slanderous reporters, who doe yet liue and lurke in euery corner, by false reportes and writings continually endeavouring to suppress, or at the least to blemish the truth, vpon euery least occasion offered or sought. As first they began, so they continue. For whereas diuers of vs at diuers times had conference with Campion and his fellowes, the time being such, that so many of vs as could get leave, when we had once conferred with him & his fellowes, departed into the countrey from whence we were called: and others remaining in the citie, assaying whether it might please God, that they coulde doe any good with them to their reformation, this was forthwith by reportes and pamphlets euery where so framed and dispersed, as though Campion like some great beare, or Lyon rather (as they woulde haue him seeme) had shaken vs all off like cowardly cures one after another. But that religion can not long stand, that is vnderpropt and stayed by such impudent lyes, as amongst many other things may well appeare to all, that with indifferencie, without foreiudgement, will reade and consider our true reporte of the sayd conference. Which why we haue now published it before, and why we doe publish it now, we haue shewed the true causes, howsoeuer they shall caull, that vpon mistaking of our parts, we haue not published it hitherto, and find fault also that we haue published it now. Surely we with good conscience may affirme this our report, in the substance of matter to be most true, though our memorie could not alwayes retaine the order, or the very wordes wherein euery sentence was uttered.

A. Nowell.

W. Daije.



Joseph Bentham

A true report of the conference had with Campion and others, by the Deane of Paules and the Deane of Windsor, in the Tower of London the last of August, the 23. yere of the Queenes Maiestie, and of the Lord 1581.

When the Deane of Paules and the Deane
of Windsor (being sent to the Tower to
have conference with Master Campion
and his fellowes in matters of Religion;
and by order of Master Lieutenant, ad-
mitted into the Chappell of the Tower,
whither the saide Campion and others
were brought) shortly after our mee-
ting, sayde to Master Campion, that
wee came thither to the ende to doe him good, if it might please
God to give such good successe, howsoever hee or any other should
thinke otherwise of vs. And because it should not seeme to him,
that our meaning was to take any advantage against him by our
sudden comming to him, wee our selues being prepared for the
Conference: wee sayd wee intended to deale with him in no other
matters, then such as were contained in his owne booke, by him
so much studied, written, and so lately published in print: wherein
hee hauing made so large a Challenge as hee had, we saide, we
thought hee could not thinke himselfe to be suddenly taken as vn-
prouided. Of which speech hee seemed not much to mislike, onely
he said, that he understoode not of our comming.

Then we beginning with the first part of his sayd booke, vnto
denaunce of him with what reason he could charge the Queenes
Maiesties most mercifull gouernement, and vs that at this time
professe the Gospel (as he did in the Preface of his saide booke) with
haued and strange crueltie and tormentes, practised vpon his fel-
lowes in religion: seeing that the Authours and professors of their
Religion, had most cruelly burnt aliue, so many thousands of vs,
for the maintenance of our Religion onely, besides diuers other

The first dayes

wayes of most horrible tormentes: where as none of them was euer executed for Religion, but either for treason, or some other notorious crime punishable with death by the Lawes of the Realme.

Whereunto he answered, that he was punished for Religion himselfe, and had bene twice on the Racke, and that racking was more grievous then hanging, and that he had rather chuse to be hanged then racked.

Whereunto one of vs sayd, that belike Master Campion being the Popes tender Personell, accounteth a litle racking of himselfe, to be more crueltie, then the roasting quicke of many thousands of vs.

You must (quoth Master Campion) consider the cause: the cause why, and not the punishment onely.

It hath bene euer your maner sayde we, not onely to vse *petitione principij*, but *totius* also: not only to require a principall point in controuersie, but euen the whole it selfe to be graunted vnto you: as that your cause is good, and that you bee the true Church of Christ, as you continually presume and take vnto you. But thanks be to God, the contrarie hath bene so prooued, that a great part of Christendome doeth evidently see it. And many thousands, who were before of your Church, haue fled to vs from it, as from the synagogue of Antichrist. And concerning his racking, Master Lieutenant being present, sayde, that hee had no cause to complaine of racking, who had rather seene then felt the racke: and admonished him to vse good speache, that hee gaue not cause to be vsed with more seueritie. For although (said he) you were put to the racke, yet notwithstanding you were so fauourably vsed therein, as being taken off, you could, and did presently go thence to your lodging without helpe, and vse your handes in writing, and all other partes of your body: which you could not haue done, if you had bene put to that punishment, with any such extremitie as you speake of. Besides this, Master Beale one of the Clarkes of her Maiesties priuie Counsell, being by chaunce present, demanded of him before all the companie there assembled, whether that being on the racke, he were examined vpon any point of Religion or no?

Whereunto hee answered, that hee was not in deede directly examined of Religion, but moued to confesse in what places he had

conference.

had bene conuerfant, since his repaire into the Realme.

Maſter Beale ſayde, that this was required of him, becauſe many of his fellowes, and by likelihood he himſelfe alſo, had reconciled diuers of her Highneſſe ſubiectes to the Romiſh Church, and had attempted to withdraw them from their obedience due to their naturall Prince and Soueraigne.

Whereunto he answered, that forasmuch as the Chriſtians in olde time being commanded to deliuer vp the bookes of their Religion to ſuch as persecuted them, refused ſo to doe, and miſliked with them that did ſo, calling them *Traditores*: he might not betray his Catholike brethren, which were (as he ſayd) the temples of the holy Ghoſt.

But it was replied by Maſter Beale, that it was conuenient in policie for the Prince to vnderſtande, what ſuch as were ſent from the Biſhop of Rome (her Maiesties and the Realines mortal enemy) did within her dominions: and to knowe her foes from her faithfull ſubiects, ſpecially in ſuch a time as this, wherein we liue: and that this inquirie did not touch the cauſe of Religion. After this we came to the matter of his booke.

And firſt, where he chargeth vs that wee haue nowe of a ſudden, cut off many goodly and principall partes of the holy Scriptures from the whole hopy thereof, of meeke deſperation and diſtruſt in our cauſe (as hee writeth:) and for example and prooſe thereof, he nameth firſt the Epiſtle of Saint James, which Luther, that flagitious Apoſtata (ſaith he) in the Preface of the ſame Epiſtle, and in his booke, *De captiuitate Babilonica*, nameth contentious, puffed vp, drie or barren, & as a thing ſtuffed with ſtrawe, and indgeth it vnworthie the Apoſtolique ſpिरितe: wee answered, that if Luther had ſo written, yet Maſter Campion did vs wrong, to charge vs with violating of the Maiestie of the holy Bible, for reiecting of the ſaid Epiſtle of Saint James, who doe, and alwayes haue receyued the ſame Epiſtle. Yet wee prayed him that he woulde ſhewe theſe wordes, in the places by him noted: which he ſayde he woulde, if he had the bookes. The booke, wherein was Luthers Preface to that Epiſtle being deliuered him, when he had read ſome part of the ſayde Preface, and founde that Luther did allowe and commend that Epiſtle, as in neede he doeth, teſtifying, that though it were reiecte of ſome

*Flagitioſus
Apoſtata.
Contentioſam,
tenuidam, aridam,
ſtramineam.*

*Luthernus in
prefat. in epiſt.
Iacobi. Hanc
epiſtolam
S. Iacobi laudo
& pro vili aa
commoda habeo*

The first dayes

olde writers; yet he commended it and tooke it to bee good and profitable: which wordes of Luther when Master Campion had read, he shut the booke and sayde, that it was not of the true edition.

Alle answered that the print was not lately published, being almost fourtie yeeres since, and that we had searched all other printes that we could come by, and found them to agree with this: and that we thought there was no other, and therefore we prayed him, that he would shew some edition wherein it was so set downe, as he alleaged it in his booke.

He sayde, he thought it was so as he had alleaged in the same booke of Luther in the Dutch tongue.

Then we offered to bring him the Dutch booke for the triall of the truth of the Latine translation: but he refused to see the same. But it was aduouched unto him (as the truth is in deede) that it was likewise in the Dutch booke, as he had read it in the Latine, for that we had made conference thereof.

Then he desired to see Luthers booke, *De captiuitate Babilonica*. This booke also we deliuered to him, and desired that he would shewe those wordes there. He read the wordes in Latine, which are these in effect: I passe ouer (sayth Luther) that many doe very probably affirme, that this Epistle is not Saint James the Apostles, nor worthie the Apostolike spirite. Here Master Campion thought that he had founde at the least, that Luther had sayde, that the sayde Epistle, was not worthie the Apostolike spirit.

But wee prayed him to consider, that Luther spake of other mens iudgement, and not of his owne, as in the same place is most euident to see: and also before in his Preface to that Epistle he expressly deuiderh his iudgement from theirs.

But Master Campion much vied the wordes (very probably) whereby sayeth he, Luther shewed his allowance of their iudgement.

Alle answered, that he so sayde, for that they brought very probable reasons for that their iudgement. But hee still charged Luther with blasphemie, for saying that some doe very probably affirme, that the Epistle of James, was not written

conference. T

ten by the Apostle Saint James, nor worthe the spirite of an Apostle, and byged vs to answer what opinion we had of that Epistle, meaning to intangle vs with that Dilemma either to condemne Luther, or else to doubt of the Epistle, as Luther saith that some probably do.

We answered that our Church doubteth not of that Epistle, but receiveth it as Canonically, readeth it in our Churches, expoundeth it in our schooles, and alleadgeth it for confirmation of doctrine. Notwithstanding for Luther or any other to say, that some haue very probably affirmed that Epistle not to bee written by Saint James, nor to be worthe the spirite of an Apostle, is no blasphemie.

It is blasphemie, blasphemie (quoth he) pronouncing those words with disdainefull countenance and hope.

It is soone sayd (quoth we) but not so easily moued.

I will proue it (quoth he) to be blasphemie by two reasons, and thus he framed a Syllogisme.

The Gospel of Saint John, and the Epistle of Saint James, were written by the same spirite:

But to say that some do probably affirme the Gospel of Saint John not to be written by Saint John, nor to be worthe the spirite of an Apostle, is blasphemie:

Therefore to say y^e like of Saint James Epistle, is blasphemy.

Answer was made that the Maior was *Petitio principij*, the challenging of the graunt of that which chiefly is in controuersie. For those that so say of Saint James Epistle, doubt whether it was written by the same spirite, that the Gospel of Saint John was or no: and that still resteth for you to proue sayd we.

And here Master Campion when he could not denie, that he required that to be graunted to him, which he should haue proued, was put to silence, and had no more to replie.

Then was his second reason called for, but none could be found.

Then sayde one of them, Why, is not Saint James Epistle called the Catholike Epistle of Saint James? How do you then denie it to be Canonically?

It was saide, that that was a simple reason. For whereas other Epistles of the Apostles, were written vnto special Cities, people or persons: this of Saint James, for that it was written com-

The first dayes

monly to all the tribes of the Iewes dispersed, was called Catho- like or generall.

Then sayde we to the auditorie: You haue heard that Luther doeth much commend this Epistle of Saint James, as good and profitable: and Master Campion allcadgeth, that he calleth it contentious, puffed vp, drie or barren, stuffed with strawe, and vn- worthie the Apostolike spirit. Whereby sayd we) ye may see the diuer sitie or rather contrarietie of Luthers wordes, and Master Campions report, and so may ye iudge of his sinceritie and trueth, which he vseth likewise continually.

Then sayd Master Campion, that Luther himselfe and others had purged these workes, and taken away all such places as that was, and the like that ministred such occasions of offence as that did: and he sayd he would procure from the Emperours Maestie, and the Duke of Bauaria, and from another Prince (whose name we remember not) the true copies of those bookes to be sent to the Queenes Maestie. Which wordes he (rising vp from the forme whereon he sat) pronounced with so great contention of voyce, and with such gesture, casting vp his armes, & beating vpon his booke, that one of vs challenged him therefore, demaunding why he vsed such outrageous speach and behauiour?

He answered, for that so many yong Catholiques were present there, he would not by any saynt defending of the cause, giue them occasion of offence.

Whereby we vnderstande, howe he woulde haue behaued him selfe, might he haue obtained a disputation among the youth of the Uniuersities, trusting they would be carped away many of them by such his bolde and confident dealings and actions.

And we sayde further to Master Campion, that if Luther had purged his bookes, & where he first reiected Saint James Epistle (as Master Campion sayeth) he hath sithen receyued and much commended it: with what reason hath Master Campion charged vs vpon his surmise of Luthers first witing, which doth no where appeare as reiecting Saint James Epistle? He shoulde rather haue commended vs, who doe and alwayes haue allowed of that Epistle, and shoulde haue praysed Luther, who after the example of Saint Augustine (and other ancient and godly wyters) had amended in his witing that which vpon better aduise he misliked.

Then

conference.

Then we turning to the auditoyle, said, that seeing all the printed Bookes of Luther extant, that we could finde, doe containe such commendations of Saint James Epistle as they had heard, and that Master Campion hath charged Luther so contrarily to all his printed bookes, wherein hee commendeth that Epistle, and thereby also chargeth vs as reiecting it, who euer haue receiued it; they might, we said, take Master Campions trueth and sinceritie to be as it is, until he haue brought out his copies from the Emperour and the Duke of Bauaria, which he nor any liuing we beleue can euer doe.

But Master Campion said, that might he haue his own bookes from Dreforge, he would shewe that in Luther, which he had written of him.

Whereunto it was answered, that if hee would let vs knowe where they were, we would become humble suiters to their honors, that he might both enioye his bookes, and that the partie who had them in keeping might be without daunger. But this would he not consent vnto.

Then Hart one of his fellowes saide, that hee being at Rome, heard Bellarminus the reader of controuersies there affirme, that the words reported by Campion in his booke were in that preface of Luther, and that therefore vpon his worde it was so.

Whereunto we answered, that neither his wordes, nor the testimony of Bellarminus were of sufficient credite to carry away such a matter as that was without better prooffe, specially so many and most manifest prooffes in Luthers printed bookes being to the contrarie, who agreeth with vs in allowing the said Epistle, and that therefore Master Campion hath most impudently alleadged this place of Luther, as a profe that we should reiect S. James Epistle.

Then Master Beale saide, It is not materiall to vs, if Luther had once so written: but he asked Master Campion whether euer he did reade him selfe any such words in Luther, as he in his booke doeth charge him with, or not?

Whereunto he answered, that in a treatise made by Doctor Lee, sometime Archbishop of Yorke, against that booke of Luther intituled *De captiuitate Babilonica*, he had read these wordes alleadged, as he had set them downe in his booke.

Being againe asked, whether either vpon his othe, or vpon his credit,

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crede, he would say to the presence there assembled, that hee had euer seen the places alleaged by him in his booke: and whether he knew them to be true?

He answered, that he wrote his booke as he trauelled, and that he could not, we knowe, carie a library about with him, and therefore he was forced to giue credite to his notes.

We said it was more credible, that he brought the said booke with him, readie framed by the common and long conference of him selfe, and his fellowe Jesuites at convenient oportunitie suddely to be published, rather then \bar{p} he did write it in his travels, hauing so much besides to do, & being destitute of his library as he said, which is the vsual maner (as we said) of you al, writing thereby for popular praisse of speedie writing. But when & howsoeuer you did write your booke said we, you haue vsed ouermuch boldnes, so confidently to publish in print these slenderous reportes of such men as you haue named, being not able to make any prooofe of \bar{p} , wherof you accuse them. And vpon these such good groundes of yours, you doe most vnreasonably and vnruly charge vs all, as those that haue raled, mingled and spoyle the body of the holy Bible.

The third testimonie or prooofe alleaged against vs by Master Campion in his booke, is taken out of the Centuries, written by Illicus, and others: which booke being giuen into his handes, and the like demaunde made as before, he would neither reade, nor once open the booke, neither yet made he any answer thereto, knowing that he could make no exception to the print, as he did before to Luthers bookes, seeing that booke was neuer printed but once.

And besides, where they as Historiographers, had only set down the iudgements of S. Hierome, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and of other ancient fathers concerning this Cytile of Saint James, of Tobias, the bookes of Macchabees, &c. he knewe that he could not thereby proue his assertion, that they suddenly cut away so many goodly partes of the holy Bible, much lesse that we had so done, as he doth in his booke charge vs, for which causes chiefly, he would not as much as once open those bookes, and for the same cause, he would not looke vpon Kernisius, whome, and vs by him, he had likewise falsely charged.

The Master Campion could not shew these words, out of any of those bookes by him alleaged, nor any good matter to proue the,

conference.

nor vs suddenly to haue rased, mangled and spoiled the holy Scriptures, as he chargeth vs of desperation in our cause to haue done: then did he shewe him, that we had not notue suddenly (as he vntruely reported) cut off any part or line of the body of the holy Scriptures, but made onely a difference betweene those booke of the Scriptures, that be commonly called Canonical, and of all men be taken for vndoubtedly true, from those that haue bene long ago suspected of many, and are called *Apocrypha*, according as was before set downe by the ancient Doctors of the Church, about a thousand yeres since & more. And for the prooofe hereof, we alleaged the testimonie of Saint Hierome, in *Catalogo Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, where he thus wrytes of the Epistle of Saint Iames named by Master Campion: The Epistle of Saint Iarnes, is sayde to be published, by some other man vnder his name. And of the second Epistle of Saint Peter he saith in the same booke, that it is denyed of many to be his, by reason of the difference of the stile.

To this, Master Campion answered, that Hierome spake not of his owne iudgement, but reported what others said of them.

We answered, if Saint Hierome so reported of other mens sayings of those Epistles, and did not him selfe gainsay it, that it was a manifest token, that he did not greatly mislike their sayings. And seeing in S. Hieromes time and before, those Epistles were doubted of, you doe vs great wrong, sayde we, to charge vs that we haue suddenly cut them off from the body of the Bible, who in deede notwithstanding the former doubts of them, gladly receiue and allowe them. We alleaged againe S. Hierome, in *Prologo Galeato, & Epistola ad Paulinum*, where he sheweth his owne iudgement, what booke of the Scriptures of the old Testament are to be taken for Canonically, and which haue bene doubted of: which Epistles (quoth we) haue bene written & printed in all Bibles, by the space of these thousand yeres and more, to warne all readers of that difference of the said *Apocrypha*, from the true Canonically: and to arme them as it were against the error of confounding the Canonical Scriptures with these *Apocrypha*: for the which cause as it seemeth, he also nameth that prologue *Galeatum*, as an helmet for defence against that error.

D.i.

But

The first dayes

But nowe sicence the Tridentine Councill, some Popish printers haue left out the said Prologue and Epistle of S. Hierome, who yet declareth this his iudgement likewise, in his Preface to the first booke of Esdras also.

Sherwin one of Master Campions fellowes, answered to these allegations, that Hierome did *Iudaizare*, and moze was not said to these places.

We also alleaged Eusebius, who hauing made rehearfall of those bookes of the newe Testament, which be indoubtably true, nameth also such as were gaine said, and wrytes thus: *Quibus uero contradicitur, &c.* those bookes that are gaine said, though they be knowen to many, be these: The Epistle which is attributed to Saint Iames, the Epistle of Iude, the latter of Peter, & the seconde and thirde of Iohn. And the same Eusebius in another place affirmeth plainly, the said Epistle of S. Iames, to be a counterfaite or bastard Epistle.

Euseb. libro 3.

cap. 25.

Euseb. libr. 2.

Ep. 23.

Adulterinam.

To this authoritie they said that it was true that he so said, and as we alleaged them, and that when he wrote, it was lawfull for any man to doubt of those bookes, that he called Apocrypha; but seeing by the Church (that was by the Councill of Carthage, and now also by the Council of Trident) they were receiued for Canonical, it was blasphemie, they saide, to doubt of the authoritie of those bookes.

To that was replied, that the Synode of Laodicea, held them for Apocrypha.

Yea said they, but that Synode was not generall.

No moze was that of Carthage said we.

No saide they, but that of Carthage was after confirmed by a generall Councill in Trullo.

So was (quoth we) the Synode of Laodicea, which held the for Apocrypha, confirmed also by the same generall Councill in Trullo, as there is to be seene. But how doeth this agree, that not long before you did say absolutely, that S. Iames epistle was written by the same spirit that S. Iohns Gospel was written with, and now you ground the credit of S. Iames Epistle and the other vpon these Councils?

But said we, these Councils had no authority to make any manner writings Canonical, that was not before Canonical. For by the

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the iudgement of S. Augustine in many places of his bookes, there are two things requisite to proue any writing Canonical: one is the testimonie of the Church, in which the authour liued when he wrote: The other is the continuall contestation of the Churches succeeding. To this effect writeth S. Augustine: and so be all latter Churches barred from authoritie to make any writings canonical scripture, specially those that haue of olde bene doubted of. They may testifie what the olde Churches befoze them haue done, as we now doe.

*August. contra
Faustum. lib. 28.
cap. 2. & lib. 33.
cap. 6.*

Hereunto they said againe, that it was blasphemie after those Councils to call those bookes *Apocrypha*, or to doubt of the authoritie of them.

It is rather most horrible blasphemie said we, to make humane writings equall with the Canonical scripture s, (as of late your Tridentine Council hath done, and as your Pope being but one man hath made his Decretal epistles) then with S. Hierome, Eusebius, and other ancients godly fathers, to call those bookes *Apocrypha*, which they do so call.

*Distinct. 19.
cap. In Canon-
icis.*

And we said, that notwithstanding those Councils, Caietanus their Popes Cardinall thought it no blasphemie, who in the end of his expositions vpon the olde testament, in very plaine wordes, maketh the same difference of the bookes of the scriptures, & doth not onely allowe the iudgement of Hierome, but addeth further, that all writings, yea of bishops of Rome them selues, of whome he nameth some, must be brought to S. Hieromes rule,

*Ad linam
Hieronymi.*

They betterly reiected Cardinall Caietanus, because (as they said) he was but one man against all the Church.

We said, you of your side will not be charged with the words of others, though they be the Popes Cardinals, and yet you doe thinke it reason, that we should be charged with euery word, that hath slipped from Luther. May you charge him, and vs by him, with that which you can neuer proue, that he did write or speake.

Hart saide further, that Caietanus was a good scholeman and traueled in that course with commendation: but when he began to become an expositor of the scriptures, saide he, then he lost his grace and credit.

We answered, if they thought it reason to charge vs with all the sayings of Luther, or of any other: we might by good & great

The first dayes

*August. de
doctrina Chri-
stiana lib. 2. ca. 8*

reason, charge the with the sayings of so great & learned a Cardinal of Rome, as Caietan was. Last of all, we came to the place of S. Augustine in his second booke *De doctrina Christiana*. Which Campion and his fellowes gladly received, because they said, it made for them and not for vs. For said they, S. Augustine rehearseth those bookes for Canonically scriptures, which you call *Apocrypha*.

To this we answered, that they should rather charge Saint Hierome and Eusebius, and other ancient fathers, who doe call them *Apocrypha*. And S. Augustine in that place rehearsing the order of the bookes of scriptures, though, said we, he differ somewhat from Eusebius and S. Hierome in the use of wordes: yet he doeth in deede agree with them. For where they deuide the bookes of the scriptures into three sorts, that is, Canonical, *Apocrypha* and feigned or vntrue; Augustine deuideth them into Canonical and *Apocrypha* onely: and then he deuideth the Canonical bookes into two sorts, that is, those that be certainly true (which we wiche S. Hierome and Eusebius, do call properly Canonically) and those that haue bene doubted of, which Eusebius and S. Hierome do call *Apocrypha*. And S. Augustine nameth those he utterly vntrue, *Apocrypha*, which Eusebius calleth doubtful, feigned and forged. And this may be gathered out of Augustine him selfe in diuers places, whereof we haue noted some. And albeit Augustine calleth those bookes Canonical, yet he giueth not the like authoritie to them, as namely to the Maccabees, & to the other of that sorte, as he doeth to those that be Christs the Lords witnesses, as he nameth them, which he these that are named properly Canonically. Here would they not admit in any wise, that the word Canonically was *equivocum*, or of diuers significacions in diuers places: but that wheresoever that worde was founde, it brought all bookes so called, vnder one kinde. Much time was spent hereabout, and the matter was much argued on Master Campion and his fellowes part. At the last Master Campion was desired by vs, to reade the chapter in the Canon law, beginning *In Canonibus*, which Gratian takes out of this place of Augustine: and first, that he would reade the rubric, which he seemed loth to do. And Pound one of his companions sitting by (who with his importunitie & impertinent speeches, had often interrupted the course of the conference)

*Euseb. lib. 3.
cap. 25.
dubia, ficta, adulterina.
August. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 15.
cap. 23. Et contra Gaudens.
Epist. lib. 2. cap. 23.
Testes Domini.*

*Distinction. 19.
cap. In Canonibus.*

ference) sayde, Father Campion, let them reade their places them selues. Yet at the length, Master Campion read it, and it is thus. *Inter Canonicas scripturas, Decretales Epistola commemerantur*: which after much desiring he englished also. The decretall Epistles are numbred together among the Canonically Scriptures.

Whereupon one of vs sayde, you charge vs with blasphemie, for naming those bookes *Apocrypha*, which Saint Hierome, Eusebius, and other ancient holy fathers doe so name: but here may you see most horrible blasphemie in deede, in the Canonically latwe of your Pope, which matcheth his Decretall epistles (that is mere fables) with the *Paisitie* of the Canonically Scriptures, as he doeth in this distinction, and sundry other places, whereby you may see to what poynt this boldnesse of making mens writings Canonically Scriptures is come,

que sanda
pape qui
falsos epistol
canonicis se
pturib jam
squarit.

Then saide we to M. Campion, do you hold þ Pope's decrees for Canonically Scriptures: as you doe the bookes of Moyses and the Prophets:

He answered, No: and graunted then that the word Canonically, was æquiuocum of diuers significations, which before, they all did so constantly denie.

Whereupon we sayde that we had some good hope of Master Campion, for that he blushed. And we sayde further, that Cardinall Caietan in the place before alleadged, saith expressely, that S. Augustine placed those bookes in the Canon of maners, but not in the Canon of doctrine, whereby he plainly declareth that the word Canonically is æquiuocum.

After this, he was desired to reade the text of that Chapter, and there he found & coulde not denie, but that the place of Augustine was vntreuely reported by Gratian, and by manifest corruption drawe altogether from the meaning of Augustine. For where S. Augustine saith, that those Scriptures are to be taken for Canonically, which the most or greatest part of Christian Churches so take; among the which those Churches be, which deserued to haue Apostolique Seas, and to receiue Epistles from the Apostles: these wordes of Saint Augustine are chaunged, and in the place of the Apostolique Seas, is put the Apostolique Sea, (meaning the Church of Rome) and those Churches which deserued to receaue Epistles from the said Church of Rome: which is

S. Augustines
wordes.

The report of
them.
Distinct. 19.
Cap. de Canoni-
cis.

The first dayes conference.

cleane contrary to S. Augustines wordes and meaning.

Both often before, and here specially, Master Campion and his fellowes seemed to be desirous to dispute vpon some poynts of religion, rather then to continue in this examination of his booke, which we said we would not at after noone refuse, but the forenoone (qd we) is so farre spēt, that we must at this time make an ende. And then turning vs to the auditorie, wee sayde: You haue heard howe Master Campion in his printed booke, hath charged vs as rasers, manglers and spoylers of the holy Scriptures, of meere desperation and distrust in our cause, as he saith. You haue heard how he would proue vs so to be, by certayne places by him in his said printed booke noted, as being the wordes of Luther and others in their bookes. You haue heard and seene proued by the bookes them selues, that there is no such thing to bee founde in those places of their bookes as hee hath set downe: but onely that Saint Hierome, and Eusebius aboue a thousande yeere sithen, doubted of the authoritie of those Epistles & bookes. And you haue heard, and it is vniuersally knowne, that S. Hieromes Prologue and Epistle, wherein hee noteth those bookes to bee *Apocrypha*, haue bene ioyned with all Bibles that haue bene witten and printed euer since S. Hieromes time, by the space of a xi. hundred yeeres and moze, vntill nowe of late sithen the Tridē-tine Councill, some Popish Printers haue left them out. And you haue heard, that not onely nowe of late, the Councill Triden-tine hath made the *Apocrypha* of equall authoritie w the vndoub-ted Canonical scriptures: but also that it is set downe in the B. of Romes Canon law, þ his Decretal epistles are to be nūbered to-gether among þ Canonical scriptures: & so finally you see what iniurie these mē do theselues to the holy scriptures, & what blas-phemy they haue cōmitted, in matching their fables w the Cano-nical scriptures, who do most vniustly charge vs w those crimes.

Sherwin saide, but you should haue told withall, what we haue answered to all those poynts.

We said, your answer is to be looked for, when you can bring forth your copies which you speake of, and promised: for in any bookes by you named, & extant and to be had, there is nothing of that which M. Campion hath set downe to be founde. And here the time being spent we made an end for þ forenoones cōference.

The

Hierom. Pro-
log. Galeat. &
epistola ad
Paulinum.



The after noones conference.



In the fore noones conference both Master Campion him selfe, & others of his companions, had oftentimes required vs that wee would deale with them in some matter of doctrine, and leaue that course that we began with, in the examining of his booke.

Whereunto we answered, that we were minded (if the time would suffer vs) to examine other partes of his booke, and lay it open to the audience there, howe that as he had most vnruly charged Luther and others, with the mangling and spoyling of the body of the holy Scriptures in the beginning of his booke: so had hee likewise most vnruly and impudently in other places slandered other worthie men: and vpon the same his good groundes, he had charged vs all, as rasers and manglers of the holy Scriptures. And surely our opinion was, that if any thing at all, that laying open before his face of his continuall vntueths, which hee hath so braggingly aduouched in his booke myght haue reclaýmed him. For vndoubtedly hee coulde neuer haue endured the manifestation of those his lyes, as they were in the confutation of his booke shortly after set out, had they bene layde open before his eyes: which myght manifestly appeare to all that vnderstande his gentle and milde behauiour and speache in the After noones conference, in comparison of his bragging and lowde wordes vsed in the forenoone.

Notwithstanding at our meeting at after noone, we sayde vnto Master Campion, seeing your desire is so much to dispute in some matter of doctrine, wee will not refuse. But first wee pray you, let vs (as we) peruse the Canon that foloweth, that which we last deale with in the fore noone concerning the Popes Canons,

D.iii,

and

The first dayes

Distinct. 20.

Cap. De libellis

The Pamphleter here saith, that M. Day (meaning the Deane of Windsor) hauing belike of olde store an other Canon to reade &c. But the truth is, their affirming the word Canonically to make all writings so named to be of equall authority, occasioned vs to reade that Canon before. *Distinct. 19. Cap. In Canoniciis*

The Decretal Epistles are together numbered with the Canonically Scriptures. To the which if you ioyne the saying of Pope Agatho. *Distinct. 19. Cap. Sic Omnes*, which is neere to it. All the Sanctions of the Apostolique Sea, are to be taken as established by the deuine voyce of Peter himselfe saith Pope Agatho. Whereunto if you adde this also, which Pope Leo *magna voce*, w^a a great voice saith here, would you not thinke that Satan or Beelzebub bellowed our most horrible blasphemies? for euⁿ as Lucifer by pride would haue made himselfe equall with God: so this Lucifers vicar in earth, would by a Luciferian pride make his worde, Canons and writings, equall with the Maiestie of Gods worde, and the Canonically Scriptures.

and the Canonically Scriptures, for that the time would not then suffer vs to reade it. The wordes of Pope Leo the fourth, there translated word for word, are these: For this cause I feare not to pronounce more plainly and with a loude voyce, that he that is conuincd not to receiue indifferently the statutes of the holy fathers (which we haue spoken of before) which with vs are intituled by the name of Canons, whether he be a Bishop, a Clarke, or a laic man, that he is proued neither to beleue, nor to holde profitably and effectually to his effect, the Catholique and Apostolique faith, nor the foure holy Gospels. This saith Pope Leo, You may see, (quoth we) whereunto this boldnesse of matching mens writings with the holy Canonically Scriptures, is come. For here, Pope Leo with a loude voyce pronounceth, that whosoever doeth not indifferently receiue & Canons, is conuicted, neither to reteine effectually, nor beleue the Catholique & apostolique faith, nor the foure holy Gospels: where by hee matcheth the beleeuing, receiuing, or refusing of his Canons, with the beleeuing or refusing of the foure holy Gospels: for so we said that the proccesse of that Canon, and the word indifferently did import.

Master Campion indououred very much to qualifie this worde *indifferenter*, indifferently, and so to mollifie the Popes blasphemie if hee coulde: and hee confessed that there was difference betwene the Euangelistes and other writers, for that the Euangelistes and writers of the Scriptures coulde not erre in memorie or any other circumstance, but Councils might be deceiued in some such small matters of circumstance. As for example, saith hee, I am bounde vnder payne of damnation to beleue, that Tobias dogge had a tayle, because it is writtten he wagged his tayle.

It was said by vs, that it became him not to deale so triflingly

in matters

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in matters of such waighe.

Why then, saith he, if this example like you not, take another. I must beleue that Saint Paul had a cloake, because he willeth Timothie to hyng his cloake.

We saide, these things were nothing to purpose; unlesse hee coulde proue, that such a promise was made to y^e bishop of Rome & his Councils, that whatsoeuer they should determine, was sure to be true and certaine.

They alleaged Chyftes saying: He that heareth not the Church, let him be reputed as a publicane and heathen. Matth. 18.

We answered, that text serued them for all purposes. But first they must proue the selues to be the true Church before that text would belong vnto them. And where they alleaged out of the 15. of the Actes, So it seemeth to the holy Ghost and vs: we answered, we knewe well enough that that Council was gouerned by the holy Ghost, wherein the Apostles were president. But what maketh that to the wicked Councils of Popes? And after much reasoning about the worde *indifferenter*, we said, were that word put out, yet were it blasphemie to say, that he that beleueeth not the Popes Canons (which are with other there mentioned) beleueeth not the foure holy Gospels. After this we began our disputation concerning iustification, both for that it is first of al other mentioned in your booke (quoth we to Master Campion :) and both Luther and we al, are most grievously charged by you, with error therein: and also for that it is in deede a matter of the chiefest controuersie betweene vs. And first, for that you doe in your booke, vntruely charge Luther, and vs by him, with the cutting away of Saint Iames epistle, for that the wretch (as you say of Luther) was by this epistle vanquished and ouerthrowen, and for that, that epistle doeth so manifestly conuince his and our error in this matter of iustification (as you do write) we do protest that we will neither refuse, nor make any exception to that epistle of Saint Iames, nor to any other part of the newe Testament, which you vntruely haue charged vs to haue cut off from the body of the holy Scriptures.

It is well, saith they, that you doe receive this Epistle of Saint Iames.

We haue euer receiued it, saith we: Howe much the more vntruely,

*Miser.
Confessus &
disruptus.*

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truely, haue you charged vs with the contrarie? And so entering into the matter, we said, Whereas you do charge Luther, & with him vs all, for teaching a newe and false doctrine, yea heresie also, in that we say and write, that we are iustified by faith onely: we say for our defence against this your slander, that the same doctrine is taught, both in many places of holy scriptures most effectually, and is also expressely affirmed and pronounced by the ancient holy fathers and doctours of Christes Church, both Greekes and Latines, in the very same wordes that we do vse,

Let vs heare your scriptures and doctours said they.

Thē, for that we came purposed to examine by truthes of Campions booke, rather then to dispute: we did very briefly, as our memorie did then serue vs, note rather then thoroughly alleage many places out of the holy scriptures, for the prooofe of our iustification by faith, and consequently by faith onely, to this effect.

Our sauiour Christ saide we, as it is in sundry places of the Euangelists recorde, saith often: Thy faith hath saued thee: Onely beleue, beleue onely. They shall receiue remission of their sinnes, and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me. As many as beleue in me, to them hath God giuen power, to become the sonnes of God. Whosoever beleueth in me, shall not be condemned, shall not perish, but haue euermore lasting life. Thus saith our sauiour Christ, &c. And Saint Paul saith, Beleue in the Lord Iesus Christ, and thou shalt be saued. God doeth iustifie thorow faith. We are saued by grace thorow faith. We are blessed by faith. We are the children of Abraham, yea we are the children of God by faith. The righteousness of God by the faith of Iesus Christ vnto all, and vpon vs all that beleue. If thou confesse with the mouth the Lord Iesus, and shalt beleue in thine heart, that God rayled him vp from the dead, thou shalt be saued. For with the heart man beleueth vnto righteousness, and with the mouth man confesseth vnto saluation. We are freely iustified by his grace thorow faith.

Then said they, we knowe right well that the scriptures doe containe great commendations of faith, but in all these there is not this word faith onely, which is your doctrine.

But the ancient holy fathers, said we, vpon these groundes of the

Matth. 9.

Mark. 5. & 10.

Luke 7. 8. & 12.

and 18. Act. 16.

18.

Iohn 1. 12.

Iohn 3. 16.

Actes 16. 31.

Galat. 3. 8.

Ephes. 1. 8.

Rom. 4.

Rom. 3. 22.

Rom. 10. 9.

Rom. 3. 24.

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the scriptures by vs alleaged, do gather and plainly pronounce, that onely faith iustifieth, as you shall heare anone. And howe many things sayde we, doe you your selfe teach vs as necessary articles of religion, not hauing for you one plaine worde therefore, but doe affirme, that in effect they are contained in the holy scriptures. And you haue heard that iustification and righteousness, yea, saluation and the kingdome of heauen, are attributed to faith, and that without any addition of any other thing. And you haue heard the wordes of our Saviour: beleue onely, onely beleue. And of Saint Paul, you are freely iustified by faith, which are in effect as much as faith onely, and to more effect exceedingly, then are your pproofes of a great many of the principal pointes of your Popish religion. And where as we meane none other by faith onely, but faith without the workes of the Lawe, and without our good workes: if the former place can not satisfie you, heare what Saint Paul sayeth further. Knowe ye that a man is not iustified by the workes of the Lawe, but by the faith of Iesus Christ. The righteousness of God is made manifest without the Lawe, by the faith of Iesus Christ vnto all, and vpon all that beleue. We holde that a man is iustified by faith, without the deedes of the Law. It is one God that iustifieth circumcision by faith, and vncircumcision through faith. Euery one that beleueth is absolved from all, from the which they could not be absolved by the Lawe of Moses. Thus saith Saint Paul, and to the like effect in exceeding many places, declaring that we are iustified by faith, and not by the Lawe, by faith and not by workes, which is all one as to say, by faith onely.

Gal. 2. 16.

Rom. 3. 27. 28.

Act. 13.

So it is not all one, said they.

But the ancient doctors of the Church said we, do vpon these very places of the holy scriptures by vs alleaged, gather and in expresse wordes set downe, as we do, that we are iustified by faith onely, as ye shall see, Saint Hillary (quoth we) sayeth thus, reading his wordes out of the booke it selfe, *Mouit scribas remissionem ab homine peccatum: hominem enim tantum in Iesu Christo conueniuntur, et remissionem ab eo quod lex laxare non poterat: fides enim sola iustificat.* That is to say, It moued the scribes that sinne was remitted by man: for they behelde man onely in Iesus Christ, and that was remitted by him, the which the Lawe can

D. Hillarius in.

Matth. cap. 8.

The first dayes

**Faith onely
doeth iustifie.**

not release: for faith onely doeth iustifie. Thus saith Saint Hilary: who as you doe see of this doctrine of Saint Paul by vs al-
leaged for iustification by faith without the lawe, gathereth any
setteth downe the same doctrine in the same wordes that we doe
reach, that faith onely doeth iustifie.

But he saith not so in the same sence that you doe, saith Master
Campion.

We shall see of the sense anon,saide we : but we pray you
 heare the other doctours also, who doe agree with vs in the same
 wordes. Saint Ambrose also vpon the place by vs alleaged out
 of the third to the Romanes, among many other sentences hath
 this, *Non iustificari hominem apud Deum nisi per fidem.* That a
 man is not iustified before God, but by faith. And shortly after
 Saint Ambrose saith, *Tam Gentiles quam Iudeos, non aliter
 quam credentes iustificauit. Quia enim vnus Deus est, vna ratione
 omnes iustificauit.* That is, both the Gentiles and the Iewes
 God hath iustified none other wayes, but beleeuing. For, be-
 cause there is one God, he hath iustified all by one meanes. And
 most plainely vpon the wordes by vs before alleaged, he sayeth,
*Iustificati gratis per gratiam ipsius: Iustificati sunt gratis, quia nihil
 operantes neq; vicem reddentes, sola fide iustificati sunt dono Dei.*
 That is, they were iustified freely by his grace: They were iusti-
 fied freely for working nothing, neither making any recom-
 pence; they were iustified thorow only faith by the gift of God.

Rom.3.

D. Ambros. in
cap. 4. & 9. ad
Rom.

Basil. Περὶ τα-
πεινῆς φροσύνης.
Πίστε μοι.

Gregor. Na-
zianzen.
Περὶ Θεότητος.
Τὸ πρῶτον
μῦθος.

Thus saith Saint Ambrose, who doeth very often in his expositions vpon that Epistle to the Romanes repeate, That we are iustified by faith alone. And Saint Basil most worthely nameth the great, sayeth, ὅτι γὰρ διὰ τὴν χάριν καὶ ἰδιώματος κενόχου ἐν Θεῷ οὐ μόνον εὐχαριστοῦμεν τοῖς ἐπαύροις ἀλλ' ἐκείνην αὐτῆς μὲν ὁδὸν ὡς πρὸς θεοῦ διακρίνομεν· ἀλλ' οὗτος δὲ μέτρον ἐστὶν· βλᾶτε ἐπὶ διακριτομένην, καὶ περιεργασθῆτε εὐδοκίαν ἐν τῇ καταφοροποιίᾳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ κυρίου, &c. That is, perfect and fownde reioycing in God is this, when a mā doth not boast of his owne righteoulines, but knoweth that he wanteth him selfe true righteoufnesse, and that he is iustified by only faith in Christ. And Saint Paul doeth glorie in the contempt of his owne righteoufnesse. Thus saith Saint Basil. And Gregoric Nazianzen saith, Ομολόγησεν Ἰωάννης Χριστὸν, λέγει περὶ σου ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγέρθηται καὶ συνέθετο διακρίσασθαι μετὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ σπένδειναι μήποτε. Confesse Iesus Chrift, and beleeue that he is risen from death, and thou shalt

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shalt be saued : For to belecue onely, is righteousness. Thus sayth Nazianzen surnamed Theologus the deuine, for his excellent learning in the scriptures. And the same doctrine of iustification by faith alone, doe many other ancient, godly and learned fathers and doctours set downe most plainely in their woorkes. After that these sayings of these ancient doctours were read, we said, You see that this doctrine and the very words themselves, which we doe vse, we are iustified by faith onely, or sayth onely doeth iustifie, are not any new inuention of ours, but are set downe and pronounced by many ancient and holy fathers of the Church, about a thousand yeere sithen and moze, and that, being groundeuen vpon the same places of the holy Scriptures, that wee doe alleage for our iustification by faith onely.

*Athan in Galas. 3.
Chrysost. in Rom. 2. in Rom.
Origen. in Rom. cap. 3.*

Master Campion saide, but those Doctours and you doe not agree in sense, as I saide before.

It is well saide we, that you can not denie but that they doe agree with vs in wordes, and that they doe gather these wordes euen of the same scriptures, which we alleadged for onely faith to iustifie : and that therefore these wordes, wee are iustified freely thorow grace by faith: faith without the law, without the works of the lawe doeth iustifie, (which are the wordes of Saint Paul) are all one with these wordes, faith only doth iustifie, which was before by you denied.

Master Campion saide, but the trueeth of the matter resteth in the sense and meaning of the Doctours.

What sense is it that you doe speake of? saide we.

Master Campion answered, We do graunt that it is true that onely Faith doeth iustifie, in this sense, that is, that when we be first brought into the state of grace, no good woorkes do go before *primam gratiam* the first grace or iustification, but that our first iustification is by faith only, without any woorkes going before: but the woorkes that followe the first grace and iustification (said Master Campion) doe both iustifie and merite also.

We alleadged Saint Augustines saying, *Opera non præcedunt iustificandam, sed sequuntur iustificatum*: Woorkes do not preceede a man to be iustified, but doe followe him being iustified.

August. de fide & operibus.

That is true, said Master Campion, as I said before, of the first grace and iustification : but good woorkes doe goe before the se-

The first dayes

condemnation.

Rom. 4.

Psalm. 32.

D. Basil. de Hu-
militate.

It is but a small matter (said we) to graunt y no good workes doe go before the first grace of iustification, when before the same grace there can be no good workes at all. And concerning the seconde iustification, we replied to that, that Saint Paul speaking of that iustification, and alleadging the example and saying of king David therefore, sayeth expressely, that to a man that doeth beleeue in him that doeth iustifie the wicked, his sayth is reputed to righteousness, according to the purpose of the grace of God. Euen as David setteth downe the blessednesse of a man, vnto whome God reputeth righteousness without workes, Blessed are they whose wickednesse is pardoned, and whose finnes are couered, &c. Thus sayeth Saint Paul, thus sayth the King and Prophet David, teaching playnely that our iustification is by Gods pardoning of our euill woorkes, and not by the merites of our good workes: for he sayth expressely, that iustice is without our woorkes. And S. Paul and King David were in the state of grace when they did thus write, and yet doe shewe that their iustification then, as well as before, was without workes.

Master Campion saide, a man being in the state of grace, may write of the first grace and iustification, why not? and so did they in that place.

Yea (quoth we) but if he be set downe for an example himselfe, after that hee hath obtained the first grace and continued therein, and yet sayth that God reputeth his iustification without any his workes, though he haue done many good, as Abraham first, and then David are here set out for example: and as Saint Basil, as was before alleaged, setteth out Saint Paul him selfe for an example, who doeth glorie in the contempt of his owne righteousness: it is euident, that that iustification of righteousness which is before God, is without any woorkes of ours at all, and that all iustification of all persons, and in all times, is by the grace of God through faith onely, without any merite of our workes.

Then they alleadged Saint Iames wordes, Faith without charitie is dead, making thereby charitie the soule and life of faith.

Hereunto wee made answer, that sayth without charitie was in deede dead, and altogether vaine and vnprofitable. But Saint Iames meaning herein, was not to make charitie the principall part,

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part, of the forme of fayth : but onely to shewe, that by charitie fayth is approued and declared to be a true & a lively fayth, which wee doe most willing graunt. And therewith wee alleaged the saying of Thomas de Aquin. being a scholeman of their owne side, who saith, *Deus iustificat effectiue: fides iustificat apprehensiue: opera iustificam declaratiue.* That is, God doth iustifie effectually, fayth doeth iustifie apprehendingly, workes do iustifie declaringly.

Master Sherwin saide it was *Fides iustificat instrumentaliter*, Fayth iustificeth instrumentally.

That worde (quoth we) doeth make no alteration in sense at all. And here you may see howe Saint Paul teaching that we are iustified by fayth without workes before God : and Saint Iames teaching that we are iustified by woorkes, that is, doe declare our selues by our workes vnto men to be iustified, do agree.

Master Campion saide that he could yeelde and subscribe vnto that saying of Saint Thomas.

And we saide, that we woulde doe the like, for that it is the very true doctrine that wee teache : howebeit he helde his penne from subscribing.

Then Master Sherwin alleaged these wordes of Saint Paul, If ^{1.} Cor. 13. I had all faith, and haue not charitie, I am nothing. And he dyd very vehemently vye the wordes, all faith, all faith, without charitie is nothing worth.

Where saith one of the Pamphleters, Silence was the answer: but howe truely, let him selfe see : for it was straight answered, Master Sherwin you may see, that the Apostle speaketh there of fayth in working of miracles, euen by the wordes of the Apostle himselfe, who saith, If I shoulde haue all faith, so that I could remoue mountaines, and haue not charitie, I am nothing. And when he cryed still *omnem fidem*, all faith, and that therefore it must containe our faith also, els we had none at all.

It was answered by vs : If you will not beleue vs, yet let Saint Chrysostomes exposition bee of some authoritie with you, who calleth it *fides operum*, faith not of doctrine, but of miracles, saith Saint Chrysostome, euen as we also doe say: which sayeth the wicked may haue as our Saviour Christ teacheth, and therefore all faith to worke miracles, doeth not containe that true

Mat. 7. 22, 23.

The first dayes

faith, which doeth iustifie him that hath it.

Galat. 5.

Further, they objected Saint Pauls woordes in his Epistle to the Galatians, Faith worketh by charitie.

We answered, that vnlesse faith doe worke by charitie, it is no faith at al: but that made nothing against our iustification by faith onely. But here they reasoned against vs, thus.

If faith onely iustifie, then it iustificeth without charitie: But that was contrary to the text of the Apostles: Therefore onely faith doeth not iustifie.

We answered, this Syllogisme consisteth of foure termes. For it is one thing to say that faith onely doeth iustifie, and another, that sayth is not without charitie. For when wee say that onely faith iustificeth, we meane not to denie that charitie is ioyned with that faith which iustificeth, being inseparably vnited vnto it: but that onely faith and not charitie is the meane, by which wee inbrace Iesus Christ our iustification and righteousness. And this wee indeuoured to make manifest by an example. The fyre (quoth wee) hath heate and lycht, which qualities can not bee seuered in that subiect, yet the fyre burneth by heate onely, and not by light. Nowe, if any will reason thus: If the heate of the fyre onely burne, then it burneth without the light of the fyre: but that it can not doe: Therefore it burneth not by heate only. They shoulde shewe themselves to be absurd that so would reason, sayd we. And such is your reason against the iustification of faith onely, because it can not be separated from charitie. Likewise though the parts of mans body be ioyned together, and one is not without another in a perfect bodie, yet doeth the eye onely see, and the eare heare onely, and euery part hath his distinct office.

Eph. 2.

Then Master Sherwin alleadged out of the Epistle to the Ephesians: *Ipsum sumus factura, creati in Christo Iesu in bonis operibus.* That is, We are his workmanship, created in Christ Iesus in good workes.

We looked in the Greeke Testament, and found *in ijs op. a op. ad opera bona*, vnto good woorkes: and so answered, that Saint Paul sayth not, wee are the creatures of God in Christ thow we good woorkes, but that we are created of God in Christ to do good woorkes: which Master Sherwin (looking vpon the Greeke Testament) could not denie. Further we tolde Master Sherwin, that if he

conference.

if he tooke that place in that sense, that we were created in good workes, he was contrarie to Master Campion, who granted that good workes doe come, after the first grace, and not to bee toynd with our first creation in Christ Iesus, as Master Sherwin would haue it. And besides that, we did admonish him, that the place by him alleaged, did of all others most effectually make against the, and for vs. For immediately before the wordes by him alleaged, Saint Paul sayth thus: *Gratia enim estis saluati per fidem, & hac non ex uobis, (Dei enim donum est) non ex operibus, ne quis gloriatur.* That is, You are saved by grace through fayth, and that not of your selues, it is the gift of God, not of workes, least any man should boast himselfe. In this sentence of Saint Paul, euery parcell (quoth we) maketh for vs, and against you. The cause of our saluation is the grace of God, the instrument whereby we receiue it, is fayth, the false cause alleaged by you is here excluded, that is, our workes.

Master Campion alleaged, *Qui iustus est, iustificatur adhuc*, Apoc. 12. He that is righteous let him be more and more righteous. And thereupon he sayde, he would not refuse to subscribe, that we be iustified by fayth onely, so that we would subscribe, that being so iustified, we ought afterward to walke forward more and more in the workes of righteousness.

We granted that we would so subscribe. And as Master Campion said vnto M. Campion, Take heed what you doe. Then sayde Master Campion, If you will so subscribe and graunt withall, that those good workes are meritorious, or do merite, I will subscribe to fayth onely.

Doe you nowe come in with your merite, (sayde we) we will none of it, neither will acknowledge any merite (quoth we) in respect of our iustification, or of the kingdome of heauen, but only the merites of Christs passion. And so our subscribing was dashed by master Campions addition of merite to that, which before he promised without any mention thereof.

But you doe knowe well (sayde master Campion) that often mention is made in the scripture of this worde merites, that is, of rewarde for our good workes. And that at the last iudgement it shall be sayde, Come into the kingdome ye blessed: For I was hungrie, and ye fed me, &c. So that these good workes are men-

The pamphle-
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The first dayes

tioned as a cause or a meane at the least, of entering into the kingdome of heauen.

Math. 10.

We deny not (sayd we) but the worde *merces* is often mentioned in the holy Scriptures, and that God will rewarde our good workes, farre about our deseruing: but that *merces*, is *ex misericordia Domini dantis, & non ex merito hominis accipientis*. That reward is of the mercie of God giuing it, and not of the merite of man receiuing it. For when it is sayd, He that giueth a cuppe of colde water, shal not loose his reward: if you take that reward to be the kingdome of heauen, and the land of the liuing to be giuen for the merite thereof, surely you make it to be of more easie purchase, then any land in this worlde can be, be it neuer so little. And concerning the last iudgement, the wordes of our Sauour, Come, possesse the kingdome prepared for you before the beginning of the worlde, may giue you to vnderstand, that it is not giuen for the merite of any their good workes, which they coulde not doe, before they were any thing. And the worde *ad iustitiam ueracis* Take ye the inheritance of the kingdome, sheweth that it is giuen to vs in Christ, as inheritance, which the Father giueth to his children freely, and is not purchased by our good workes. Besides that, though our Sauour Christ will of his speciall grace and fauour, remember those almes done to the poore in his name, and take them as done vnto himselfe: yet were it an intollerable arrogancie for vs to say, We fed thee when thou wast hungry, &c. Or to say, Giue vs the reward of our cuppe of colde water, which thou promisedst we should not loose. Wherefore as we sayd, that *merces* and rewarde of hire, is of the grace and mercie of God giuing it, and not of the merite of man receiuing it, which is according to the true doctrine of the holy Scriptures, that not flesh or man do glory or reioyce, but that he who doth glorie or reioyce in his iustification and saluation; may glorie and reioyce in the Lord onely: For Saint Paul sayth, Where is then thy reioycing? It is excluded, By what lawe? of workes? Nay, but by the lawe of fayth. Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by faith, without the workes of the lawe. And againe: If Abraham were iustified by workes, hee hath wherein to reioyce, but not with God. For to him that worketh, the wages is not counted by fauour, but by debt, But to him that worketh not, but beleeueth

1 Corinth. 1.

29, 30, 31.

Ephes. 2. 8, 9.

Rom. 3. 27.

Rom. 4. 2.

conference.

ueth in him that iustificeth the vngodly, his sayth is counted for righteousnes, And againe : Now if by grace, then not of works, for so grace is not nowe grace, &c. Thus farre Saint Paul. Whereby you may see, that if iustification and saluation shoulde be attributed to the merites of mans good workes, it would occasion boasting and glopping in the fleshe, and chalenging of our iustification and saluation as due vnto the merite of our workes, & so much abate & abase the glorie of Gods grace, that grace should then no more deserue the name of grace. But if iustification and saluation, be as it ought to bee, giuen wholly vnto Gods grace and mercie, promised vnto vs in Christ Iesu, which we doe apprehend and lay hold of by sayth onely, as the onely instrumentall cause vnder Gods grace : then is all the glorie and honour of our iustification giuen vnto God onely, without any merite of man. And so we conclude as we sayd before, that we meane not by faith onely, to exclude the doing, but the meriting of good workes.

One of them alleadged the wordes of our Sauour, He that beleeueth and is baptized, shalbe saued. And heretupon he sayde, We grant that no merite doth preceede this sayth, Marke, 16.

Whereunto one of vs sayd, when he was baptized, and obtained that first grace and iustification which Master Campion speaketh of, he may safely graunt, that no good workes doe preceede or go before that iustification which he had in his infancy, the which no worke at all doe or can preceede : but for his parte (sayde he) when he doeth consider, howe after that first grace, hee hath most vngrationously broken the bowe made to God in Baptisme, and how fewe and small good workes he had done towards the attayning of any second iustification which Master Campion speaketh of : howe many and great euill workes hee had done : how much of his life, his time and goods hee had mispent : howe little he had spent in the seruice and to the honour of God : howe late he came to the Lordes vineyard, and howe loytering a labourer he had bene in that short time : Surely (quoth hee) for my part, when I doe looke vpon my righteous workes so fewe and so imperfect, and on the other side vpon my vnrightheous deedes so many and so sinnefull, I cannot but thinke it to bee a most damnable arrogancie, to chalenge any part of that second rightheousnesse, or of the kingdome of heauen, by so fewe and

The first dayes conference.

small good workes : and do see how great occasion I should giue thereby, that God should condemne me for my so many and great euill workes, in respect of which I cannot but dispaire of any desert or merite towards that seconde iustification that you doe speake of. Here Master Campion, to shewe belike that he was no Pharisee: I must confesse also (sayd he) that I haue bene most defectiue in all good workes, and in deede a loytering labourer (as you terme it) in the Lords vineyarde.

What remedie then quoth the other:

The remedie (quoth Master Campion) is, the mercie of God in Christ Iesus.

That is (quoth the other) that I beleue, and this my beleefe onely in his mercies thoroowe Christ, and not in any late and loytering worke, is that faich, that shall saue me and you too, I trust: and therefore (quoth he) here (as in some good hope of our agreement, in this poynt of iustification by faich onely, without any merite of workes, which we trust we haue by the holy Scriptures, and by the ancient Doctours both Greekes and Latines, by examples, yea and by our consciences sufficiently proued) if it shall so please Master Lieutenant, let vs make an ende: and so we ended our conference.



A brieft

A brieue recitall of certaine vntruthes

scattered in the Pamphlets, and libels of the

Papists, concerning the former conferences:

with a short answer vnto the same.



E thought it not amisse, here in the ende, to note some of the principall poynts vntuely set downe by the authors of such Pamphlets, as haue hitherto come to our handes concerning this conference. First, they leaue no circumstances of Master Campions imprisonment, his racking, sicknes, lacke of his note bookes, of his librarie, our sodaine coming vpon him &c. vntouched; But they that will consider his bragging challenge made in his booke, and prompt readines to dispute with all protestants: howe lately his booke was before by him set out, and howe fresh in his memorie, and howe we dealt with him onely in his owne booke, and in a fewe pointes in the verie beginning thereof: and did bring with vs all those bookes which he himselfe had noted and alleaged, and gaue them into his handes: and our selues also hauing made ready the places in the said bookes by him noted to ease his trauell in seeking of them: who will (I saye) consider these things, may hereby easily vnderstand, their allegations of sodaine taking of him, and his lacke of bookes, to be most vaine. And hee himselfe by his lowde speeches, and bolde and busie gestures, shewed no token of any either sicknesse or weaknesse: neither did him selfe then complaine vpon those difficulties, which the Pamphleters haue so diligently & largely noted sithē.

They do charge some of vs, and specially one, with *uncourteous wordes, and vncomely for professors of the Gospell* (as they saye) spoken to *Master Campion and others*. But they shewe not vpon what occasion by Master Campion and others of his companions offred, these wordes were spoken. For when Master Campion did rise vp from the forme whereon he sat: did cast vp and sling with his handes and armes: did knocke and beate vpon his booke at euery other worde, with an exceeding lowde voyce and sharpe countenance, affirming that all our printed bookes were false, and that he would procure true copies to be sent from the Emperours Maiestie, & from the Duke

A true answere

of Banaria, and from an other prince (whom we remember not) vnto the Queenes Maiestie: was it I praye you so outragious in the latine tongue, as seuerally to admonish Maister Campion him selfe, without the vnderstanding of the common audiorie, for one of vs to saie, *Qui hic mos est mi homo? Quis hic gestus? Et loqueris & pultas fores? Gloriosus miles. Projicis ampullas, et se- quipedalia verba?* We may bee bolde to saye, that considering Maister Campions bragging in English, and the admonition of the other in Latine, there was no such outrage as they doe note. But this they much disdain, that he saide once, *Os impudens.* Trueth it is, but vpon his often and fierce affirmation that al the printed bookes of Luther in England were false: and vpon Poundes odious interpellations (as, wee knowe you to be a good Terence man) and his most scornefull lookes through his fingers, staring vpon him continually whiles he was reasoning with Master Campion, to put him out of his memorie: hee being offended both with Poundes mockings, wordes and lookes, and with Campions shameles sayings, brake out with *Os impudens*, as he thinketh, most deseruedly on their partes.

Yea, but he vsed the word *obgannire*, or *oggannire*. Hee denieth not, but comming by commandement to conferre with Campion onely, when two or three of them spake together, and many other of them muttered, and sometime brake out into scornefull laughter, he said, *Siccine tam multos oggannire & ob- strepere?* This is the rage and railing wherewith the Pamphle- ters do charge him.

They say that he by a Commissioners checke, put the priests that would haue spoken, and Master Sherwin to silence. The trueth is, that though we were sent onely to Master Campion at that time, yet others did speake sometime, and Master Sherwin specially very much, and almost as much as did Master Campion. Whereupon not we, but Master Lieutenant told him, that he should be dealt with an other time, and willed him then to quiet him selfe. Hereupon it is, that the Pamphleters saie, wee should haue vsed them as the Queenes prisoners. Wee say, they should haue remembered, and behaued them selues as becommed prisoners, and not as Ruffians in all libertie or licentiousnes rather, as they in deede, and specially Master Campion in the

to a false reporte.

in the forenoone behaued himself. And yet the Pamphleters are not ashamed to write, *The Catholikes vsed no such wordes as did the Protestants*, (and one of them specially) but being passing modest, went directly and soberly to the cause. And agayne: God gaue Master Campion (speaking very mildly as hee euer vsed) such modestie in answering. Thus write they, &c. Then surely his speaking did much differ from his writing, as is to be seene by that his challenge and booke, the most bragging and vaine glorious, that euer was written. Nowe Sherwin hath his contrarie commendation, of whome they write thus. But Master Sherwin like him selfe, with excellent courage spake. Master Sherwin here notably tooke the aduantage. Crosse blowes were continually given to the Protestantes, by Master Campion and Master Sherwin. Master Campion and Master Sherwin framed their reasons exceedingly well, with many such like commendations. But of vs they write, *The Protestantes shuffed by the matter*. They answered to an argument of the Catholikes, there be foure termes in this syllogisme, and no further answer. Silence here was their answer. M. Dape hauing belike of olde collection an other place in stoze, spent much time in that impertinent question. The Deane of Paules when he could do naught els, grinded with his teeth for despise & rage. And so the Catholikes by the iudgement of those that were not wholly wedded to will, did get the goale. *Scilicet*.

But the Pamphleters labour about nothing more, then to deliuer Master Campion from the note and blemish of ignorance in the Greeke tongue: whereof one of them writeth thus: *The Deane of Paules and Master Beale shewed great ostentation towards Campion, in offering him a Greeke Testament to reade a text of Paul*. To whome Master Beale said, *Gracum est non potest legi*, calling vpon him to reade if hee could, &c, to the others vtter defacing, if he could haue procured it. But our good Lord gaue the other such modestie in answering him, as al indifferent persons were edified by it. And refusing there to reade (whereby Beale and the rest, were flatly then perswaded it was for lacke of skill) in the ende it fell out that Saine Basil was offered him in Greeke, and the booke holden him by a minister, whereto he read skilfully, and in the hearing of all the auditoze, confessed the

A true answer

the text to be as they alleaged it, answering it as before. And with all (quoth he) let this man witnesse, whether I can reade Greeke or no: who in open hearing answered, Very well. Whereupon being confounded, He confesse (quoth the Deane of Paules) you can reade Greeke, whereat some might haue blushed, if they had had any such good humour in them. Thus writeth one of them,

Another of them reporteth the matter thus. It happened in procelle of their disputatiōs, by occasion incident, there was talke of a text of Scripture (which forsooth must be viewed by Master Campion) & to make the matter most plausible (as the Protestants imagined) they caused a Greeke testamēt to be brought vnto him, which he refused to take, saying merily to his contrarie, it shalbe yours. At which doing many laughed, condemning him for ignorance of the tongue, and therefore gestingly by the Protestants it was said, *Gracum est non potest legi.* It is Greeke, perhaps it can not be read. Whereunto Master Campion gaue no answer but rested at the matter, as a man vnable to reade Greeke, or to vnderstand the same. But it chaunced not long after, that the Protestantes as they had prepared before, were to alleage a place out of Saint Basil the Greeke doctor: and againe thinking to giue the Catholikes another bob, they commanded againe the booke of that ancient father to be giuen to Master Campion that he might reade, whome before they derided as not able to doe the same. But he tooke the booke, and hauing one of their ministers at his elbowe, both read and gaue the sense of the writer, and bad him beare witnes that hee was able to reade and vnderstande Greeke: whereat there was some admiration made among the Protestantes. And he was demanded why hee did not so before: who mildly answered, that the print was ouer small. Why saide they, had you not declared so much before: that had bene sufficient. The like triall they made of an other Catholike, to wit Master Sherwin, who by report of his fellowes and companions, is very well seene in the Greeke and Hebewe tongues: yet he tooke the booke and viewed it, but openly did not reade, which was imagined that he did, to be accounted ignorant in the tongue, or rather for that he was willed to hold his peace, for that there should be other times to talke. Thus they write of this matter, farre more largely and earnestly, then of any other. But the truth is, that when

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when we had read the sentences out of the Greeke Testament and Doctors once or twise our selues, wee offered the Greeke Testament first, and afterwarde Nazianzene in Greeke to Campion to reade, that he might credit his owne eyes, and that we alleaged their wordes truly. But he refused to reade in the Greeke testament altogether, as them selues do here confesse. And when Saint Basill and Nazianzen in Greeke were offered to him to reade, he said once or twise, *I knowe, I knowe*, it is as ye haue alleaged: which we tooke to be a shift, to auoyde the reading of it him selfe. But when he was yrged, & Master Stollard who stood by, tooke the booke and held it to him, he read, but so softly as it were to him selfe, that wee may with good conscience protest before God, that we heard not one word: so faire off was it that he read skilfully, & in the hearing of all the audiorie as they doe write. But surely, whosoeuer did knowe Campions vayne, may thinke that hee would haue read in the hearing of al the audiorie in deede, had he had any knowledge in that tongue: and not so haue whispered to him selfe, or in Master Stollardes eare. Truthe it is, that he saide, *Let this man intimes whether I can reade Greeke or no.* But why did hee not reade so, that not he alone, but that all we might haue bene witnesses thereof?

Both Basill & Nazianzen were offered, but it was Nazianzen & not Basill, as they report.

But saie they, Master Stollard said, hee read very well. They onely heard him so saie belike: for of truth he said to vs, *If he did reade at al, he read the worst that euer I heard.* Which some of vs thought that Master Stollard spake, for that wee hauing read those fewe wordes of Nazianzen, *Δεσποδιν μὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνίστασθαι μὴ ποτε* once or twise before the booke was giuen Campion, he might seeme out of his memorie to haue repeated them, rather then to haue read them out of the booke. Nowe, that we should be in any admiration hereat as they write, what cause was there? For that we should aske him why he did not so much before, who heard him then not reade one word: or that the Deane of Pauls confounded should say, *We confesse you can reade Greeke*: or that there was any cause giuen why we should blush or be confounded, are most impudent lies, and most meete for such reporters. Nay, rather may all Papistes blush for Campions sake, who making such a challenge, as though he had had all knowledge,

A true answere

in all learning and languages, when it came to the triall, vpon conscience of his ignorance, durst not reade openly one short sentence in Saint Basil or Nazianzen, the bookes being of a large and faire print. Surely, wee before our comming thither, vpon Campions owne bragging challenge and booke, and other mens reportes of him, thought wee should haue bene fore incumbered by his learning, and ouermatched by his knowledge in the tongues: so farre off was it, that wee meant to make any ostentation therein towards him (as they write:) but vpon experience and triall with him, we found him not to be that man that we looked for, and went away with that opinion, that the booke which was so sodainly after his bragging challenge, put in print, was none of his writing, much lesse penned by him as he was in his journey, as hee reported himselfe: but, that it was elaborate before, by the common and long studie of all the best learned Iesuites, to serue at all oportunities, To the same effect is the report of Sherwin, who looking vpon the Greeke Testament, and reading neuer a worde, goeth yet away thereby, not onely with the commendation of a man verie well scene in the Greeke and Hebrew tongues: but also of singular modestie and contempt of all praises, as seeking to be accounted ignorant in that, wherein he had great skill, For that they would haue the cause of his not reading to be, for that he was willed to hold his peace, is very ridiculous: for he did oft speake, after he was so willed to holde him selfe contented: and then he was specially desired to reade, and not to holde his peace. But we thought the trueth to be, that when Sherwin had alleaged out of the second to the Ephesians after the olde translation; *Creati in bonis operibus*, we were created in good workes: and the originall Greeke being shewed vnto him, when he found it to be *in bonis operibus* *bona opera*, created to do good workes: he looked in the beginning and in the ende of the Greeke Testament, trusting as wee thought, that if he might haue found, that it had bene printed in any place, where the Gospel is preached, hee might after Campions exāple, haue made a challenge to the print as false, (which is now become a speciall shift of the Papists, and the last refuge when al other do faile:) but whē he did see that it was Plantines print, hee held his peace. Notwithstanding we do not thinke,

but

to a false reporte.

but that Sherwin could reade Greeke, the ignorance wherof we neither objected to any, nor did make any ostentation (as they write) of any our knowledge therein. Only we offered the bookes them selues vnto Campion, that his owne eyes might bee witnesses, that the auncient fathers both Greekes and Latines did teache Iustification by faith alone, euen as we do. By which occasion, God as wee thinke by the opening of his ignorance, meant to controll his vaine glorious bragging of all knowledge and habilitie to deale with al men. Thus much, and too much of this matter, were it not that the reader may hereby vnderstand, what vantages these writers and reporters doe take vnto them selues: yea and by speedy and continuall spreading and beating of the same into the eares and heads of many, do much preuaile also, vntill time, the mother of trueth, shall discouer their vn-truethes.

But we may by no meanes dissemble another matter, by these Pamphleters fore laide to our charge. Saint Augustine in the fourteenth chapter of his booke *De fide & operibus*, was by some of them in our conference (as we thinke) alleaged, as against our doctrine of iustification by faith alone: but in that confusion of many speaking at once, it was not greatly by any of vs marked or said vnto, that we remember. But the authors of the Pamphlets do report this place of Saint Augustine, as by them of al other most effectually alleaged against vs. Their words be these. Vnto this was added by the Catholikes the authoritie of Saint Augustine out of his booke *De fide & operibus* and the fourteenth chapter, where he hath registred that this doctrine of Iustification by faith onely, was an heresie taught in the Apostles time: for reformation whereof he declareth that S. Iohn, Saint Peter, S. Iude, and Saint Iames, did write their Epistles, wherein they so much inculcate the doctrine of good workes. Thus they write, thus they whisper in euery eare open vnto them, to the slander of vs and our doctrine of iustification by faith onely, as not onely an error, but an heresy also. But wee doe pray all indifferent readers, to consider of these maner of dealings. For Saint Augustine in that place writeth against the wicked opiniõ of those, who mistaking Saint Pauls wordes of Iustification by fayth without workes, do by an euill securitie neglect to liue well, not

*August. De fide
& operib. ca. 14*

A true answer

seeking by true faith the helpe of God, to the overcoming of their owne euill concupiscences, but doe despise the workes of righteousness, & by a dead faith do promise to them selves euerm-lasting life. These be Saint Augustines expresse wordes in that place truly translated, which they haue most vntruely and maliciously alleaged against vs, & against the heresie (as they terme it) of iustification by faith onely: which they woulde haue the simple people to mistake, as though wee woulde exclude all things vniuersally sauving faith onely: and did vtterly cast away all care of good workes, & godly life, yea, and all desire of Gods grace to assiste vs, as did they against whom S. Augustine in that place did write. But we protest before God and all good men, that we neuer meant to make faith the chiefe and onely cause of our iustification, but that the grace and mercie of God by our sauour Iesus Christ promised to the faithfull in his holy worde, is the principall and originall cause, and very fountaine of our iustification: and that faith, not a dead faith (as they thought against whome S. Augustine doth write) but a liuely faith (being wrought in our hearts by the said word of God, and by the operation of the holy ghost) beleeuing Gods promise of his mercy in Christ, is the instrumentall cause in vs, whereby onely wee receiue our iustification, without the merite of our workes: and yet being iustified, we are most bounde to walke in all good workes, as much as it shall please God to giue vs grace thereunto, for the which we ought to sue by cōtinuall & most heartie prayer. Which our doctrine, you may see to bee most contrarie to the wicked opinion of those, against whom S. Augustine writeth in that place, and that therefore it is most falsely and maliciously alleaged as against vs, who by faith onely iustifying vs, meane not to exclude the doing, but the merites of our good workes, which is no heresie, wherewith these men would charge vs, but the very trueth it selfe taught in the holy Scriptures, and by the auncient godly fathers and learned doctors set down in the very same wordes which we do vse, as hath bene before at large declared.

Of the conclusion of our conference the Pamphleters write thus. At the last, the Protestantes did make a doe, as though something had bene wonne, when in my soule I protest there was not,
but

to a false reporte.

but in any indifferent audience the aduerse Protestants had bene quite confounded. For Master Campion and Sherwin too, would haue sayde much more in defence of their cause, but one of them by his Commissioners authoritie suddenly made an ende, cutting them off from all further speech. Thus they do write. In deede when we had continued very long, and the sunne shining vpon our faces in at the South windowes, and the throng being very greate, and by occasion of both, the heate so intollerable, that some of vs were faine to go out of the chancell to take breath, and to returne againe: and Master Campion and wee being nowe come to a very neare poynt of agreement in the question of iustification, (as is afore noted in the ende of our conference) wee turning to Master Lieutenant, sayde, If it shall so please you, let vs here make an ende. With a good will sayd he: and so we brake off. And here is all the Commissioners authoritie, which they speake of, that wee or any of vs did take vpon vs. And thus ended our conference with Campion: the iudgement of the truth of their or our reportes whereof, wee doe leaue vnto God, and to those who were present thereat. Surely we by our notes set downe, whiles our conference was yet fresh in memorie, and by sundrie conferences amongst our selues sithen, and with other also, who were there present, yea and by diligent perusing of the pamphlets written against vs, haue endeoured to set downe all payntes that were dealt with in our sayd conference, with as much truth concerning the substance of the matter, as our diligence and memory, and the remembrance of other also, could possibly attaine vnto.



A. Nowell.

W. Daiie.

¶iii.

The

to a full report.



IN. D. 1711

1711

1711



The three last dayes
conferences had in the Tower with
Edmund Campion Jesuite, the 18:
23: and 27. of September, 1581. col-
lected and faithfully set downe by M.
John Feilde Student in
Divinitie.

Nowe perused by the learned men
themselves, and thought meete
to be published.



John Feilde.
Ianuarij. 1. 1583.

G.iiiij.

To the Christian Reader, grace
and peace,

THou hast here, gentle Reader, a true report of the whole substance of the conferences had in the Tower the last three dayes, faithfully gathered out of the notes of diuers that wrote there, and afterwards perused by the learned men them selues, and nowe lastly published by authoritie. If any man be inquisitiue why they were set forth no sooner, he may vnderstande, that being private conferences, it was thought not much requisite to make the publickly knowne neither had they bin then set forth, if the importunitie of the aduersaries, by their sundry vnttrue and contrary reportes made and scattered amongst their fauourites, had not euery perforce drawen the forth. If Champions answeres be thought shorter then they were, thou must knowe that he had much wast speech, which being impertinent, is nowe omitted: although I protest, nothing is cutt off from the weight and substance of the matter: for of that, I made conscience, and had speciall regard. Againe, if the repliers speeches seeme to be more ample: it is, because their authorities then alleadged, onely in Greeke or Latine, are nowe in large put downe, both in Greeke, Latine, and English. But for the arguments and answeres, I was euery religious faithfully to reporte them, as they were. Wherein, I appeale to all the bearers in Gods sight, to whose grace I com-
mit them.

John Feilde.

A remembrance of the conference, had in the Tower.

with Edmund Campion Iesuite, by

William Fulke, and Roger Goads

Doctours in Diuinitie, the 18.

of September, 1581.

followeth.



After that Master D. Fulke had made a goodly prayer for direction in that action, that it would please God to confirme the faithfull, and to confounde the obstinate and willfull, & that Campion denying to pray with them, had superstitiously all to becrossed him selfe, Master D. Fulke beganne with this preface in effect.

D. Fulke. *Where as there hath bene some proceeding with you before, and we are come by order to the thirde chapter of your booke, where you slander our Church of Englande & the whole Church of God, for the destination of the Catholike Church, for that we destine it so, as it shoulde be inuisible: we come to prooue both by the Scriptures and Fathers, that it is inuisible. But this I woulde haue knowne vnto you, that our purpose is not to deale by discourse, but by selfe by Logical arguments, according to the order of schooles, &c.*

After he had inquired D. Fulkes name, Campion also spake after this manner.

Campion. *The disputation that I desire, is yet behinde: for I desire it mighte bee in the Vniuersities. This may bee called a conference, but it is not the disputation which I require. Besides, these conferences are vnequall, both in respect of the number of*

of

The second dayes

of them, as also for want of such necessary helpe as were fitt and convenient. I see that you haue soun appointed to note, as if it were made a solemne matter. I shoulde haue the like, so shoulde I haue come better furnished, and all these might haue bene better posited. Besides, I haue bene pleased withall already, to things heretofore spoken by me, haue bene mistaken, and published in print other wise then I euer meant.

Here was
speache, that
nothing was
meant by the
noting, but a
priuate mat-
ter, & to pre-
uent false re-
ports.

D. Fulke. For the suddenness, it is all alike with vs. After Lieutenant sent you worde by my request, to chuse the question your selfe on Saturday last at noone: so that you had knowledge of the question as soone as we, and also the choyse and appointing thereof. As for the noting, it is not made so solemne a matter that it can prejudice you, but to preuent false reportes that may bee spread of the conference, iniurious as well to you as to vs. As for the disputation you require, it is not at our appoyntment: It must be ordered by them that are to appoynt both you and vs. This cometh by commandement, &c. but let vs goe to the matter. You slander vs, and Master Caluine likewise, in the thirde chapter of your booke, for defining of the Catholike Church as we do. You say we make it a Platonick Idon; an ayrie thing, that is no where &c. But I will proue that it is against the nature of the Catholike Church, at any time to be visible.

Campion. Where do I slander you of Caluine? Reade my booke, I wil maintaine my booke and euery part of it. And as for the Catholike Church, I will maintaine, that from the time of Adam to Christ, and from Christ vnto vs, the Church hath bene visible. But because you say I slander you and Caluine, speake my wordes.

D. Fulke. These are your wordes. *Non est uisus conuenerit semper, uideri uoluit Ecclesia quousque Scriptura commemorat, refragari, nomen callide retinuit, rem ipsam funditus destruentis scilicet &c.* And ye quote Cal. Institut. lib. 4. cap. 1. Sect. 2. &c. Here you plainly slander Caluine and vs, for defining the Catholike Church (comprehending all the elect of God that haue bene, are, or shalbe) to be visible.

Camp. The Catholike Church is considered according to her parts, triumphant in heauen, and militant on earth generally in a particular; and I am ready to maintaine, that alwayes the militant

conference.

militant Church in earth is visible: euery preacher in his prayer knoweth this, who in their prayers pray for the Church militant: therefore this is the point, whether this be alwayes visible:

Fulke. Well then it appeareth in the very beginning, that you swarue from the title of your owne booke, sclaundering vs without cause, for the definition of the whole Catholike Church, and Sophistically you goe from the whole to a parte, from the Catholike Church to the Church militant, which is but a part of it, when as the whole Catholike Church comprehendeth all the elect, and is the full body of Christ, that filleth all in all things, as the Apostle sayeth, and as we confesse in the articles of our faith, We beleue the Catholike church. We deny not that the church militant sometime is visible: but we affirme that the whole Catholike Church, whereof our definition is giuen, is not visible. And what cause haue you then to exclaime vpon Caluine and vs, for defining the Catholike Church to be inuisible? This we are here ready to prooue.

Camp. I haue sayde, that vpon earth the Church is alwayes visible. But I pray you let vs speake of the Church militant. I am sure these gentleme would heare, not of a Church of Saints in heauen, but of a Church in earth, whereto they may ioyne themselves, what should we talke of the Church in heauen? They would rather knowe I am sure, of what Church they are here: Aske them.

And this hee
spake with
great iolitic
& scoffingly.

Fulke. Well then you are found recreant in this point, openly to sclaunder our definition to be such as should take away the nature of the Church, in that we make it inuisible, and now when it commeth to the tryall, you will not deale with the Catholike Church, whereof our definition is giuen: but with a part of it, to witte, that which is vpon earth, which we neuer denied in some sense to be alwayes visible, because it consisteth of men vpon earth, although it be not alwayes seene, because it is oftentimes hidden from the woꝛlde, and sometimes also from the true members thereof. But this Church vpon earth you will haue to be alwaies visible. Seeing therefore you giue ouer þ defence of your flauiser of our definition of the Catholike Church, which we came prepared to maintaine: we are ready also to reason of þ church militant.

Campion. The state of the question is, that the Church mili-

The second dayes

rant vpon earth, can not be hidden, but it is alwayes knowen, so that a man may vnderstand of what Church he is, &c.

Fulke. The case may be such as a member can know no more but himselfe: what meane you by visible?

Here was much a do about writing, & yet I neuer knewe any thing imprinted that might preiudice him.

Campion. I meane to be visible, is to knowe one another, to meete at Sacraments, when I can tell that I am of this church, and you of that, I a Catholike, and you a Protestant, as I certainly know there is a Church in Fraunce, a church in Spaine, and in Flaunders, though I be farre from it, and we may know one another: a member can say, This is my pastoz, these are my prelates and gouernours. This is plaine. I would to God I had one also to write for me. I pray you let me not be mistaken, for I haue had great wrong that wayes, and things haue bene put in print, that I neuer spake or meant.

1. Argument.

Fulke. If we haue this discoursing, we shal neuer haue done: I would you would be brieue. I will prooue from a place of scripture, that the church militant (vnderstanding visible as you say) is not alwayes visible in earth. Elias complaineth, that he was left alone &c. Ergo the Church was not then visible.

Campion. I deny the Antecedent, & further declare the meaning of the place, which maketh also together for me. For Elias setteth out the schismaticall church of the Samaritanes. In this schismaticall church, a member being driuen out, (as sometime it falleth out to bee) the worlde turning and changing, he might not know the rest: but yet knew there were 7000. that neuer bowed their knees to Baal. Again, you must not bring a particular to ouerthrowe a generall. There were none there: therefore there were none in ocher places. But this place is an excellent place against you. For as the Prophet complained there, so we may iustly complaine now, O Lord they haue forsaken thy couenāt, they haue destroyed thine altars, and slaine thy Prophetes with the sword, and I am left alone &c. Yet no doubt, there were many: as for example, I might haue complained of Geneua, when I was there, that I had bene alone, not knowing of any ocher Catholike there. Were all the Protestants in England in Queene Maries time gone: were there none: and are all Catholikes now gone? Whatsoeuer they bee, I knowe certainly there is a Church in Fraunce &c. And so then there was a flourishing church in Iudea, under

conference.

under Aſa, and Ichoſaphat, whither Elias was flying for ſuccour and reliefe, &c.

Fulke. I thought we ſhould haue diſcourſing. You declare your ſelfe utterly ignorant in all this matter. For where were theſe wordes ſpoken?

Cāp. They were ſpoke as he was flying into Iudea, to y church whither he knew to repaire, teaching vs what to do in ſ like caſe.

Fulke. That is not true, they were ſpoken in mount Horeb, as he was in the wilderneſſe, after he was fled from the perſecution of Iezebel, when ſhe had determined his death.

Campion. The text is playne, *Venitque Beerſeba Iudea &c.* He came to Beerſeba of Iudea &c.

Fulke. His flight was into the wildernes, & Beerſheba was in his way, where he left his ſervant, & ſo went forward into the wildernes. For Beerſheba was the vtmoſt towne in Iudea towards Horeb, & both Beerſheba & the wildernes of Arabia, were from Iudea towards Horeb. And therefore the text ſayth, *Iſpe verò per-exit.* He went forward, &c. continuing his iourney to the wilderneſſe, and therefore it is not true you ſayd, he went into Iudea, to ioyne himſelfe with the Church, or to ſeek reliefe there.

Campion. But his complaint was of a particular place, for the Church flouriſhed in Iudea vnder two notable kings, Aſa and Ichoſaphat. And when he ſayeth, *Ego ſolus*, he meaneth that hee was the onely Prophet that was left &c.

Fulke. This anſwere cannot ſtand with the oracle, which pronounceth that God had left 7000. true worſhippers. Wherefore it is manifeſt, that Elias thought himſelfe the onely true worſhipper that was left in Iſrael, except you wil ſay there were 7000. prophets, whereof he was ignorant. But ye anſwere y the Church was then ſo viſible, y he knew whither to reſort. But I wil proue y the church of Iudea, (vnto which y cōgregation of Iſrael, if they be a true church muſt be ioined) was ſo inuiſible at ſome time, that it had not ſo much as y face of a Church, whither any mā in Elias caſe might reſort. It is writtē 2. king. 16. that vnder y reigne of Acha, there was taken a paterne of the Altar of the idolaters of Damafcus, & that Vrias the high Prieſt remoued the Altar of the Lord. Whereby it appeareth, that the prieſthoode was corrupted, the Altar was remoued, and the ſacrifices utterly ceaſed, &c.

Here the
wordes of the
text were read

D. ii.

Campion.

The second dayes

Campion. That might well be. For there might be such a time, and the case might so fall out, that there could be no exercise of the priestly function, & yet it might remaine visible inough, &c.

Fulke. Very wel, what visibilitie could there be in those dayes of Ahas, Manasses, and such like, when there was no face at all of an outward Church, neither in the head nor in the members, when the high Priest was become an idolater? How could they know whither to resort, the Temple being defiled, and the priest-hood it selfe so defiled with idolatrie? &c.

Campion. What meane you by the face of a Church? It might for all this be knowen, though they could not exercise their function.

Fulke. How could that be? when there was no outward forme of a Church, it sayled in the head, in the chiefe, & in the members. There was no place for their publike sacrifices, seeing that onely place, to which they were bound to resort, was defiled with heathenish idolatrie. For it must be there and no where else. And I doubt not but there were particular members, that were knowen to God, or might knowe one another: yet was there not a visible Church, as you determine of the worde visible, to be, when men know their pastors & prelates, and the place whither to resort, &c.

Campion. I say, the dayes were as these dayes are now to Catholikes, or as they were to you in 5 dayes of Queene Marie, to them that are in prison: & yet we know there were protestants left, and those that were in prison knew wel inough to resort vnto them, that were abroade: and so of the Catholikes, though nowe Masse be forbidden, and the execution of their priesthood, yet Catholikes know Catholikes, and whither to resort for the exercise of Catholike religion.

Fulke. But in Iudaea they knewe not whither to resort, when the temple it selfe was defiled, where onely by the law of God the sacrifice was appointed to be offered. Therefore although there were a Church then, yet it could not be visible.

Camp. Reade the wordes: The kings of Iuda were as our kings, & as I said, before the times turned, there was many changes. But doth this follow: there is no Church in England where Masse is said (which I dare say many catholikes loue, & would go a great way to heare with all their hearts:) Ergo there are no Catholikes

conference.

cholikes in England: They had no open Communion in Queene Maries time: ergo there were none, &c?

Fulke. You make bolde cōparisons, you clove vs with wordes and go from the matter. We say not that the Church could euer perish out of the earth for one moment of time, or that they were not, because they were not seene, but we say against your assertion, the Church in Iudæa was not visible, because there was neither place nor sacrifice, nor high Priest, &c. The Priest was wicked, the Temple was defiled, &c. Howe all kingdomes may profess religion, & haue their exercises thereof in all places, though they could not doe so in Iudæa.

Campion. You haue made a good argument for mee, Master Doctor. I wil knit it by with this: though they might onely exercise in the Temple, yet we may euery where: and though Elias sawe them not, yet there were thousands: so though it be not permitted now to say Masse publikely, & to exercise our functions, yet there are thousands.

Fulke. Here is nothing but repetitions. All this is not denied, but where is the visibilitie of this Church vpon earth knowen to men, (as for God he alwayes knoweth them that are his) when the head Pastor, and the only place of exercise of Jewish religion was corrupt.

Campion. And yet there was Tobias in Israel, and other.

Fulke. That is not the matter: it was not visible, because they had no other place to exercise in but the Temple at Ierusalem, which at these times was polluted, the very Altar of God being remoued, and an idolatrous altar set in the place.

Campion. That is not alike, for we haue our functions free, we may sacrifice euery where, and say Masse vpon euery mountaine.

Fulke. Like inough for that matter. But there was not so much as an outward face of the Church, the high Priest being an Idolater, and the true Altar taken away, and therefore there could be no visibilitie. You answered nothing to the matter, but abuse the presence with multitude of wordes, and therefore committing the iudgement to them that be wise and learned, I wil giue place vnto my brother.

Mastr. D. Goade. Concerning the short warning, the case is all

Tobias was of another time, for it was frō the dayes of Achab vnto Salmanazar 140.yeeres at the least.

The second dayes

one with vs, as it was with you, we had no longer deliberation then you had, litle about one dayes space, concerning the question, and therefore you haue no cause to complaine, &c.

Campion. What shall I call your worshipps name?

Goade. My name is Goade.

Campion. Yes that may appeare by this preparation, as it were to a set and solemne thing, these bookes also declare, besides the bringing of a writer with you, &c.

Goade. Well, all these concerne not the matter, you had word alioone as we, & were so made acquainted with the question, as it was of your owne choyce, &c. but in deede you are gone from the state of the question, against which we came prepared, being of the whole Catholike Church, as your owne booke doth importe, and it is apparant that you haue wrongfully challenged our definition, being (as hath bene truely sayd) of the Church in generall: well we must I see now, follow whither you leade vs. We must leaue the Catholike Church, and talke of the militant Church, the generall, and goe to a particular. One thing before I toyne with you I would wish you to forbear, namely your dealing with the present state and personall speeches, it will better be-seeme modestie, and pertaine more to the matter we haue in hand, &c. which may be perfozmed with lesse waste of wordes and more humilitie. You answer not to the report I haue heard of you, for modest behauing your selfe in conference.

Campion. Concerning my selfe, I will lay my hands vnder your feete, but I must not humble God to you, you knowe who saith, *Ne sis humilis in sapientia tua*, be not humble in thy wisdom. I must with courage mainteine religion. *Hac est sapientia vestra coram populo*, this is your wisdom before the people, &c. I must not be prayed in religion.

Goade. Howe fitly those places of Scripture are applied, I will not now stand to discusse: but concerning the state of the question as your selfe set it downe, you are fallen from it. And the Church euen as it is vpon earth, being but a part of the Catholike Church, I will proue sometime to be hidden. But what meane you when you write that it must be of the nature of the Church, to be visible?

Campion. I meane that it must be an essentiall marke of the Church,

conference!T

Church, & such a qualitie as is inseparable. It must be as visible, as fire is hote, water moist, &c.

Goade. Very good: but as you vnderstand this qualitie of visibilitie, you declare your selfe to dissent from others of your side, who by visible, vnderstand a notable glorious Church, who hath her beautie and pompe, and as your Bishpwe writeth, her continuall succession of Bishops, &c.

Campion a-
greeth not w
others of his
owne side.

Campion. That same outward pompe & glory, may be wanting, and yet the Church be visible inough. I woulde bee loth to medle with that question of succession. You know why I woulde not willingly deale in it.

Goade. Well, as hath bene proued out of the olde testament that there was a time when the Church militant was hidden, so will I proue it out of the newe. There was a time when our Sauour Christ being smitten, and all the rest of the Apostles scattered and hidden, that visibilitie was not an inseparable qualitie, ergo this qualitie is not alwayes inseparable.

2. Argument.

Campion. I denie the Antecedent.

Goade. I thinke any here might proue the Antecedent: the storie of that time sheweth it plaine. The face of y^e visible Church was then not in Christ & his Apostles, but in y^e Jewes amongst the Scribes and Pharisees: they had the succession of the Priest-hood and held the chaires, Christ was crucified, put to death and buried, the Apostles scattered and fled into holes and corners, so that if visibilitie be such a certaine marke of the true Church, then the high Priestes, Scribes and Pharises, were the true Church, and not our Sauour Christ and his Apostles.

Campion. It was a Church inchoate, beginning, not perfect.

Goade. Therefore it was at sometime hidden, &c. namely in the beginning of the Church: where was then this visibilitie?

Campion. In the virgin Marie, Zacharie, Iohn Baptiste, Peter, &c.

Goade. What shewe you me these to proue the Church visible: who was Pastor, when the Pastor was smitten and killed? who occupied the chaires? where was the outward face of the Church, which you will haue to be so glorious? and where was the Pastor and outward exercise of Religion?

Campion. I haue said before, that it is not necessarie, it should haue

The second dayes

haue alwayes that outward pompe and glozy. In the beginning, it is not apparant, as afterwards.

Goade. Ergo there is a time, when it may be hidden.

Campion. Not hidden, for they were gathered together. It was in deede *pissillus grex*, a litle flocke, but proue that it was not visible.

Goade. Because you make light accompt of these times, as being but the beginnings of the Church, let vs go on to the proceedings and encrease. In those great persecutions vnder the cruell Emperours, the Church became hidde and inuisible, ergo visibilitie is not an inseparable marke: specially in the time of Dioclesian, Christians were so wasted as to the iudgement of men, there were none remaining: their bookes were burnt, their Churches destroyed, and themselves put to death with sundrie torments.

Camp. You answer your selfe. For against whom was this persecution so hot, against whō fought they, were they shadowes? I am sure there were Christians, or els they could not haue stood soorth to haue endured those torments: but I coulde shewe you Rome in that time. Some escaped till Constantines time, much about three and twenty peeres. All were not eaten vp: for then euery man would be a Christian, and well was he that could shew himself so. I could name you the Bishop of Rome that then was.

Goade. But in the ende after that great hauocke was made, and crueltie had wasted all that coulde be found, where was then the visible Church? In the ende it was enforced to be hidden. It had lost that which you say must needes be of the nature of it, the glozy of it was so eclipsed that it shined no where.

Campion. It was most visible then and most glorious, and not long after, when Constantine came, all were Christians: Whereby it appeareth that diuers remained.

Goade. That is not to the point: though some remained, yet they were hidde. All being persecuted and put to death that could be knowne or found.

Campion. The time of these persecutions, was euen like to our times. For then the Christians were exiled, put to death, diuened into corners, as the Catholikes are now, and yet there remained inough, &c. and they were knowne.

Goade.

Pillars were erected in euery place with this blasphemous inscription, *superfissione Christi ubique deleta, &c.*

conference.

Goade. Surely you make euill and untrue comparisons, you haue no such cause to complaine of bloody persecutions in *þ* time of our gracious Queene, and do not well to compare her highnes peaceable and milde gouernement with those tyrannicall persecutions: ye might better liken your crueltie shewed in Queene Maries time to those examples. I had thought to haue founde moze modestie in you.

The Papistes call iustice for treason, persecution for religion.

Campion. Well, let the comparison be of *Q.* Maries time: then Protestants were put to death, & yet there remained many.

Goade. The question is not whether they remained, but whether they were seene. But you saide of those Emperours times, that there remained many, and they were not vnknownen. They were vnknownen both to the faithles and faithfull: ergo they were altogether vnknownen.

Campion. I deny both partes of the antecedent.

Goade. Then I must proue both distinctly, and first touching the faithles. The faithles coulde not know the Church: therefore they did not know it.

Camp. They knew it not by faith, but by sense they knew it.

Goade. Iohn 3. The worlde knoweth not vs, because it knoweth not him.

Campion. I tolde you they did not know him as they ought to know him, to saluation. They knewe, but not fruitfully and effectually. As I know you are a Protestant, but yet beleue not your religion. And a man that saith Masse is knownen, & yet you doe not beleue in it.

Goade. But though the persons were knownen, yet they knew them not to be of the Church. I wil come to the other part of the antecedent.

As is the whole so are the partes:

But God onely knoweth the whole:

Ergo he onely knoweth the partes. For the members of Christ are knownen to Christ alone. By reason of many hypocrites, men are not able to iudge who are truly faithfull. There are many wolues within, and many sheepe without: *Dens nouit qui sunt sui*, 2. Tim. 2. God knoweth who are his: therefore the true members of Christ can not be knownen but to God alone.

Campion. I knowe not who is elect, but I knowe who is a

I. i.

Catholike

The second dayes

Catholike : I knowe not whether the Bishop of Rome bee elect or no, &c.

Goade. Onely the elect are of the Church, whereof Christ is the head.

Camp. I say that both good & euil are of the visible Church.

Goade. Christ hath no dead members of his body : therefore the reprobate can not bee of the Church. I will helpe you with a distinction. They may bee in the Church, but not of the Church.

Strange Diuinitie.

Campion. The distinction is Caluins, and therefore I refuse it. But you answere your selfe, for euil men may be *uiua membra Christi*, the liuely members of Christ in respect of faith, but not in respect of charitie. A man may be a member of his body of Christ, as it is here in earth, being a wicked man : but onely the godly are members of his body as it is in heauē. Your owne argument doth confound you. It is impossible to know the elect : therefore it is impossible the Church should be inuisible.

Goade. It is your part to answere, not to oppose: you vse many words & graunt absurdities. Your argument doth not follow.

Campion. You cannot know any particular man to be elect, you cannot pronounce it of your selfe: therefore you cannot measure the Church by election: then it remaineth the Church must be visible, because it must be known.

Goade. To be elect or true members of Christ is one thing, and to be in the visible Church is another.

Campion. This was Wicklifes error that onely the electe were true members of the Church: but as I haue saide, no man can knowe who is elect, and therefore you teache that no man can knowe a member of the Church, nor no man can knowe that hee shall be saued.

Goade. Particular election is not so vnknownen as you would make it: for a man may haue knowledge of his owne election by vndoubted testimonies, and see the signes of election in others.

Fulke. You saide before that visibilitie was an inseparable qualitie of the Church, whereupon I reason thus.

The thirde argument.

If it be an inseparable qualitie, it is an inseparable note:

But it is not an inseparable note:

Ergo not an inseparable qualitie.

Camp.

conference.

Campion. I denie both the Maior and the Minor: both may be doubted of.

Fulke. I will proue both.

Campion. Giue me leaue: A note is moze then a qualitie, The qualitie is to goe right, to goe the neereſt and gaineſt way, the ſafeſt way. A note is a marke that may be remoued, that teacheth to turne on the right hand, or on the left, by this croſſe, or by that windmill or marke, &c.

Fulke. I graunt there is a difference betweene a note and a qualitie, and you needed not ſo many wordes to haue ſhewed that, but I ſpeake of an inſeparable note, and an inſeparable qualitie, That qualitie which is inſeparable, being alſo a note, muſt needes be an inſeparable note. Alſo of that your ſelfe haue ſayd, that it is an eſſentiall qualitie. I will proue the Maior.

Whatſoeuer marke is of the eſſence or nature, is inſeparable: The viſiblenes is a marke which is of the eſſence and nature of the Church:

Therefore it is an inſeparable marke.

Campion. It is an inſeparable qualitie, but not an inſeparable note, but after a ſorte: for a qualitie muſt euer moze ſtand, but a marke may be taken away.

Fulke. The queſtion is, whether it be an inſeparable note of the Church that cannot be taken away.

Campion. I ſay it may be, in a ſenſe.

Fulke. I know not what ſenſe you ſpeake of, but this is euident by your owne confeſſion, the viſiblenes of the Church is a marke, and it is of the nature, Ergo it is inſeparable. ſo my Maior is playne.

Campion. Proue your Minor.

Fulke. There was a time when viſiblenes was no note of the Church: ergo it is not an inſeparable note.

Campion. I denie the Antecedent.

Fulke. There was a time, when ſ Church was only known by the Scriptures: therefore there was a time when viſiblenes was no note of the Church.

Campion. I denie both the Antecedent and the conſequent.

Fulke. I will proue both, and firſt the Antecedent.

Camp. Nay, proue the conſequent firſt, & then ſ Antecedent.

I.ii.

Fulke.

The second dayes

Fulke. Why, the other is first, both in order and nature.

Campion. Nay, Whensoever the consequent is denied, you must straight proue the argument.

Fulke. That is, if the consequent onely be denied, but seeing you denie both, I wil first proue that which in nature and order is first, and afterward I wil proue the other, (if it neede.) It is but a sope shift of you, to decline from the point of the question. Chrysostome saith, that Christianitie which is the Church, is to bee knowne onely by the Scriptures. He hath these wordes, *Tantummodo per scripturas: nullo modo: nulla probatio, &c.*

*H. mil. in
Math. 24.*

There is no other prooffe, there is none other way to knowe the Church or true Christianitie, but only by the Scripture.

Wherefore thus I frame my argument out of Chrysostomes place.

The Church is to be knowne onely by the Scriptures:
But visibilitie is not the Scriptures:

Ergo the Church is not to be knowne by visibilitie. Or thus,
The only note to know the Church by, is y^e holy Scriptures:
Visibilitie is not the holy Scriptures:

Ergo visibilitie is not a note to know the Church by.

Campion. Yea, out of the Scriptures the Church may be knowne, for the Scriptures appoint visiblenes to be a marke of the Church. But I denie the Minor.

Fulke. Doe you say then, that visibilitie is the Scripture?

Campion. I say, visibilitie is conteined in the Scriptures.

Fulke. My Minor is, that visiblenes is not the Scripture, and so upon my Maior, which is Chrysostomes authoritie, I conclude that visiblenes is no marke of the Church.

Campion. I know Chrysostomes place, he denieth not visiblenes to be a note. You may go to another argument.

Fulke. You would not heare Chrysostome by your will, but he shall be read by your leaue.

Tunc cum videritis abominationem desolationis stantem in loco sancto, id est, cum videritis heresim impiam, quae est exercitus Antichristi stantem in locis sanctis Ecclesiae: in illo tempore qui in Iudea sunt, fugiant ad montes, id est, qui sunt in Christianitate, conferant se ad scripturas. Sicut enim verus Iudeus est Christianus dicente Apostolo, non qui in manifesto, sed qui in occulto: sic vera Iudea, Christianitas est, cuius nomen intelligitur confessio. Montes autem sunt scripturae Apostolorum aut Prophetarum, de quibus dictum est,

Illuminas

Illuminas tam mirabiliter a montibus æternis. Et iterum de ecclesia dicit: fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis. Et quare iubet in hoc tempore omnes Christianos conferre se ad Scripturas? Quia in tempore hoc, ex quo obtinuit heresis illas Ecclesias, nulla probatio potest esse vera Christianitatis, neque effugium potest esse Christianorum aliud volentium cognoscere fidei veritatem, nisi Scriptura diuina. Antea enim multis modis ostendebatur, quæ esset Ecclesia Christi, & quæ gentilitas: nunc autem nullo modo cognoscitur volentibus cognoscere quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, nisi tantummodo per scripturas, &c. Then when you shall see the abomination of desolation standing in that holy place, that is, when you shall see an vngodly heresie, which is the armie of Antichrist, standing in the holy places of the Church: in that time, they which are in Iurie, let them flie to the mountaines, that is, they that are in Christianitie, let them get them to the Scriptures. For as the true Iewe is a Christian (as the Apostle sayeth) not which is in open sight, but which is in secrete: so true Iurie (whose name is vnderstood to be confession) is Christianitie. And the mountaines are the Scripture of the Apostles and Prophets: of whome it is sayde, Thou doest giue light maruelously from the euerlasting mountaines. And againe he sayeth of the Church, Her foundations are in the holy hilles. And wherefore doeth he commaunde all Christians in this time, to get them to the Scriptures? Because in this time, since heresie hath obtained those Churches, there can be no tryall of true Christianitie, neither can there be any other escape of Christians, which would knowe the trueth of the faith, but the Diuine Scriptures. For besoretimes, it was shewed by many wayes which was the Church of Christ, and which was gentilitie: but nowe to them that woulde knowe which is the true Church of Christ, it is knowen by none other meanes, but onely by the Scriptures. This is playne for the Antecedent. And these particles are playne, Nullo modo cognoscitur, It is known by no meanes, there is no other prooffe, but tantummodo per Scripturas, onely by the Scriptures.

Campion. *Passer Doctor* you knowe the order, I denie the consequent, you proue the Antecedent.

Fulke. You denied the Antecedent, and therefore it was necessarie for me to proue it. But this place also doeth proue the Con-

The second dayes

sequence of mine argument, which you denyed. Let me see howe you can answer to the place,

All other markes in time of heresie or schisme, by Chrysostomes iudgement are excluded, but onely the Scriptures.

Therefore visibilitie also is excluded from being a marke of the Church.

Campion. When the Church was first planted, there was miracles, by which it might be knowne: but now they ceasing, it is to be knowne (sayeth Chrysostome) onely by the Scriptures: meaning that it is not to be knowne by miracles, &c.

Fulke. This answer is a senseles cauil, which is easily answered. For there is an Antithesis or opposition in Chrysostomes wordes: howe it was knowne before, that is, *multis modis* by many wayes, and howe it may be knowne now, by one onely way, *tantummodo per Scripturas*, onely by the Scriptures. For now that Antichrist is reuealed, he excludeth all wayes, except one, and sayeth it must be knowne onely by the Scriptures. Therefore he excludeth visibilitie as well as miracles, from being an inseparable note of the Church.

Campion. It excludeth miracles, &c.

Fulke. Well then your answer is, that *nullo modo: nulla probatio: & tantummodo*: excludeth nothing but miracles.

Campion. Yea, and that appeareth by the wordes, *Ante tempus Antichristi*. For whereunto els should *nunc* and *ante* be referred, except it had meant by *ante*, before the primatiue Church, and *nunc* now by the present and instant time.

Fulke. You doe but talke: you can not so put away, *Nulla probatio*, No proofe. *Nullo modo*, by no meane it is knowne, but *tantummodo per Scripturas*, onely by the Scriptures, &c. He speaketh of all times since heresies haue occupied the Churches. If you will answer no otherwise, I will rest vpon iudgement.

Campion. I haue answered, but I would to God I had a notarie: well, I commit all to God. But I pray you note that I say, that visibilitie is included in the Scriptures.

Goade. I will examine this cause by a manifest place, one of the strongest that is allcaged by those of your side, to prooue the visibilitie of the Church: namely, that out of the 5. of Matthewe, A citie that is buylded on a hill, can not be hid, whereupon they
inferre,

conference. IT

inferre, therefore the Church must needes be alwayes visible.

Campion. If it please you, though it be commonly alleaged, yet it is allegoricall. There are many stronger places, and you were best take a moze pregnant place, &c.

Goade. It is alleadged by Hosins, and others on your side, to this purpose, and therefore I chose it: notwithstanding, if you shunne it and would haue me to omitte it, I will.

Campion. No, I say there are apter and stronger places: neuer thelesse I shunne it not, but because of these hearers, wee should seeke most for edification, and it is the speciall cause of our meeting.

Goade. Thus then I reason:

This speciall place alleadged by those of your side, can not be vnderstoode of the Church: Ergo it proues not this visibilitie. 4. Argument.

Campion. I deny the Antecedent.

Goade. I would be glad, for the better waying of this place, that you would remember what your selfe hath written, concerning the finding out of the sense of any place of Scripture, in the second chapter of your booke. I would you had bene as reasonable in other things of your booke, & then we shoulde haue agreed better: for the rule is very good to helpe to the true sense, that the circumstances of the place be considered, the wordes that goe before, that followe after, the scope, the clauses, and whole context. Nowe boch out of that which goeth before, and of that which followeth, out of the whole scope and drift of the place, it is euident to be spoken onely of the Apostles, and their successors in the ministerie: Ergo it is onely to bee vnderstoode of them, and not of the whole Church.

*Camp. variatio
secunda.
Hanc peruesti-
genius ex verbis
adiacentibus.
Voces, clausula,
tota connectio.*

Campion. I deny the Antecedent.

Goade. Whatsoever is spoken properly of the Apostles doctrine and life, can not be vnderstoode of the whole Church:

But this is properly spoken of their doctrine and life:

Therefore it can not be vnderstoode of the whole Church.

Campion. You must not petere principium. It was not onely spoken in respect of the Apostles function, but of the whole Church, no other wise then as the Apostles were Christians, including the whole Church.

Goade. Then that commaundement, *Bibite ex hoc omnes,*
I.iiii. Drinke

The second dayes

Drinke ye all of this, spoken to the Apostles, much more must include the whole Church, being spoken of the Sacrament which appertaineth to all, and yet ye exclude the people from the cuppe.

Campion. This was not spoken to them as they were Christians, but in respect of their function, as they were Priests: the other was spoken, as they were Christians.

Goade. Neither of these is true: but briefly deny one part of my argument.

Campion. I deny the *Minor*.

Goade. Out of circumstances of the place and conclusion, it is manifest, that it is properly spoken of the Apostles doctrine and life, and not of the whole Church. Consider the wordes, *Vos estis sal terre*, You are the salt of the earth. *Vos estis lux mundi*, &c. You are the light of the worlde. *Non potest ciuitas abscondi*, &c. A citie can not be hid. Then the conclusion: *Sic luceat lux vestra*, So let your light shine, &c. You are the salt of the earth, noteth the Apostles doctrine, wherewith they should season others. You are the light of the worlde, noteth their life, wherupon all mens eyes are cast, and so can no more be hid then a citie vpon an hill. Both these pointes are proper to the ministerie, and hercupon the conclusion inferred, So let your light shine, &c.

Campion. You haue very well answered your selfe: For the text containeth both. There is the salt and the earth: the light and the worlde: who must season, and who must be seasoned: who must shine, and to whom they must shine. Do you not see plainly, that he includeth both the teachers, and them that are taught: &c.

Goade. Nowe you fall to discoursing cleane besides the purpose. It is true that the one can not be without the other, but yet it is plaine, that to season, to lighten, and to be set as vpon an hill, is proper alone to the Apostles and their ministerie. For the dist and scope of the place, is onely to set forth the Apostles doctrine and conuersation, & you violently wrest it to the whole Church. The life of the ministerie, is as it were set vpon an high stage, the light of their conuersation is looked vnto of all: what is this to the visibility of the whole Church?

Campion. Very wel, both a candle shine to it selfe: and is not a master of a familie, a Pastor: and that which is spoken to him, may it not be said also to them?

Goade,

Aburditie: ergo preceptes giuen to the Minister calling are giuen to the familie.

Goade, I pray you howe holdeth this argument: The life and doctrine of the ministerie is as it were set vpon a stage for all men to looke vnto, and therefore they are called the sake of the earth, the light of the worlde: Ergo the whole Church is visible. This is the force of your argument from this place.

Camp. I haue sayd, the text maketh not for you, It is not vnderstoode of their ministerie and life only, as they were Apostles, but as they were Christians.

Goade. As I haue proued this out of the text, so nowe I will shewe this to be the sense out of the Fathers, both Chrysostome and Ierome vpon the place.

Campion. You may spare your labour, you shall neuer finde Doctour that vnderstandeth it onely of the ministerie: I tell you that aforehand.

Goade. Yes, I will shewe out of Chrysostome, that it is only vnderstoode of the ministerie, and of their life: in the afternoone according to your request, the place shalbe shewed.

Here M. D. Goade was turning for Chrys. vpon this place, and he willed that it might be shewed at the next meeting.

Camp. It is a common and an vsuall kinde of speache, to better that to the master, which is meant to the seruants.

Goade. Will you beleue more but your selfe hearken what Saint Hierome sayth vpon this place.

Camp. Yes, if you would beleue Hierome, as well as I, we should be soone agreed. What thinke you, is Hierome of your religion? would you be of his?

Goade. I would not be of any mans religion, to buyde vpon man, I holde neither of one nor other, but of Christ, and grounde my religion onely vpon his worde. But remember your strong place you spake of, to proue the perpetual visibillitie of the church. Let vs heare what it is.

Camp. Shall I then haue one argument?

Goade. Yes, let vs heare it: you shalbe answered, though it be not your part to oppose.

Campion. It is out of Matthew, chap. 18. *Dis Ecclesia*, Tell the Church, I will proue out of this place, that the Church of new testamēt must continually be visible. I proue it thus.

This is a continuament that is perpetuall, and must be alwayes executed in the Church.

But that can not be, vntill the Church be visible.

R. I.

Ergo

The second dayes

Ergo the visibilitie of the Church is continuall.

Goade. I distinguish of the maior. When the Church is gathered & may retaine a face, when it doeth execute gouernement, & hath a consistorie to heare matters, then it ought to be done: but this cannot be alwayes had, being often hindered by persecution.

Camp. Offences betweene brother & brother happen alwayes, and this is the medicine and remedy. There is no age, wherein there are not offences, & where shal I seeke the perpetual remedy that is appointed, vnles the Church be perpetually visible?

Goade. I haue said before, What there is a state, & an established Church, this remedy is to be sought for. But this cannot alwayes be had, because the militant afflicted church oftentimes cannot be suffered to exercise this medicine of hollesome discipline.

Camp. The disease is continuall, ergo the remedy is continuall. I must tell my Bishops: where shall I tell the, if they be not,

Goade. The remedy is continually necessary & hollesome, but can not continually be vled. Diuers most necessary things are not alwayes in vse. It is most necessary the Gospel should be continually preached, it is Christs commandement, & yet this oftentime faileth as in persecution, when the church is diuened into streights, and the publique exercise of the worde restrained. I deny your argument: It is alwayes necessary, therefore it is alwayes in vse and practise. Many other necessary thinges are wanting many times that ought to be, and yet this taketh them not away, neither maketh them vayne or vnecessary. &c.

Campion. The disease is common: it is perpetuall. To whom should I haue gone before Luthers time? What Bishops should I haue made my complaint vnto in those dayes? I must tell my Pastor, &c.

Goade. You are answered, that in times of persecution this could not be, and specially in those times of generall Apostacie foretolde by the Apostle, 2. Thess. 2. this could not be practised, no more then the true preaching of the worde. You deale straungely with vs. When you had shut vs in prison, embowed your handes with our blood, diuined the true Church as it were into the wilderness, through your grieuous persecutions and tyrannies, so as there coulde be no meetings for publike exercise of religion: then you aske where was our Church, and to whome we should haue gone

*Ad nan fecim
is que.*

conference.

gone before Luthers times.

Campion. Where was your Church for 900. yeeres agoe? Whose were Iohn Husse? Hierome of Prage? the Waldenses? &c. Where they yours? Helpe him, Master Doctor.

Here Camp. after his bold maner did insolently insult by these vaine questions.

Fulke. It needeth not: this is beside the matter, your place is answered. The remedy is not vyle or bayne, though sometimes men are restrayned from the vse of it. Cyprian complayneth a houe 1200. yeeres agoe, that for the great persecution that was against the Church, they could not meete so often as they desired, to exerce discipline, and yet who will deny but the discipline of the Church is perpetuall? It must be vsed when it may bee had. A medicine is not an idle medicine in the Apothecaries shoppe, nor Galens prescription thereof is bayne, because sometimes it can not be had.

The discipline of the Church perpetuall & necessary, though it be not alwayes had & put in practise.

Campion. Though of some at sometimes it cannot be had in one place, yet it may be had in another. There may be some cases wherein I cannot tell where the Church is, to tell it: but if I will seeke it, I may finde it.

Therefore it is not alwayes visible.

Fulke. The words are spoken generally to euery man, *Sip ecameris aduersus te frater*. If thy brother offend against thee, &c. and yet euery man can not obteyne it. You that are in prison, what Church can you tell, if you be offended? will you say the remedy is bayne, because you can not vse it? Again, there are meane remedies before a man come to this, that he should tell the Church: he must first giue priuate admonition, and before witnesses, which euery man can not do that is offended. As to whom should Elias haue complayned, when hee knew none but himselfe? Therefore it is no more necessary, that there should be a visible Church alwayes to complayne unto: then it is necessary, that euery man should alwayes bee able to admonish priuately, or to haue two or three witnesses to call vnto him. Again, you answered your selfe, that there may be some cases wherein I can not tell where the Church is, to tell it. Therefore it was very ill concluded of you, that if a man can not alwayes haue a visible Church to make his complaine unto, the remedie prescribed by our Saviour Christ, is bayne or idle. And concerning the name, *Ecclesia* in that text, when it is sayde we should tell the Church, ye abuse the audience: for it meaneth not the whole Church, but the

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the consistorie and eldershippe, that haue the gouernement of euery particular congregation. For howe can a man tell the whole Church on earth, or yet the whole parish where he dwelleth: but he may tell the company of Elders and gouernors, when such are established to haue the execution of discipline, and this also may be interrupted by persecution.

Campion. Master Doctor you haue sayde well for mee: the worde *Ecclesia* is taken for the gouernours of the Church, and they are alwayes in light. In what place of the Scripture is the worde *Ecclesia* taken for an inuisible Church, you can shewe mee no place. Shewe mee one place: shewe mee one place if you can.

Fulke, I can shew you a great many. But because you call so earnestly for one, I will shew you one.

It is taken for the whole body of the Church : therefore for an invisible church, in the first chapter to the Ephesians, in the latter end, where the Apostle saith, *Kai autē ēsthes xristou sarkā kai haimatī*

Ephes. i.

αποδείκνυται ἐστὶν τὸ σὺν μαζαὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆρωμα τοῦ πάντος ἐκείνου πληρωμένου: And he appointed him head ouer all thinges vnto his Church, which is his body, and the fulnes of him which filleth all in all, So that it is taken for the whole Catholike Church, as it containeth all the effect of God, those that haue bene, are, and shalbe, &c. which vniuersall Church is inuissible.

Camp. I grant it is there taken for the Church triumphant and militant.

Fulke. Ergo it is there taken for an inuifible Church. For we
ſpeake of it as it concepneth euery member, and is the whole body
of Chriſt, whereof ſome are yet vnborne.

Campion. I graunt it of the whole : but the Church militant is visible, the other inuisible.

Fulke. But the Catholike Church of Christ being the body of Christ, is mysticall: ergo insensible.

Campion, Proove it according to all partes to bee inui-
fible.

Fulke. It is insufficient for mee to prooue, that the Catholike Church, which is the whole body of Christ, is mystical: & therefore it is inuisible. I speake of the Catholike Church, as it is an article of faith. For, wee beleue the Catholike Church according

to the articles of faith: Nowe, faith is of things which are not
seene: ergo the Catholike Church is inuisible.

Campion. I knowe that the whole Catholike Church and e-
uery part of the same, as it is of faith, is inuisible: but what is this
to the Church militant?

Fulke. You urged me to shewe a place where the word *Eccle-
sia* is taken for an inuisible Church: and I haue shewed you, that
it is taken for an inuisible Church, where soeuer it is taken for the
Catholike Church, which you confesse to be inuisible, both in the
whole, and euery part.

Campion. So farre as it is of faith,

Fulke. And we speake of it as it is of faith. For the whole Ca-
tholike Church, being an article of faith, is considered no other-
wise then as it is of faith, neither any part thereof by your owne
confession: whereof it followeth that the visible Church, for which
you strine so much, is no article of our faith, because it is seen, faith
being of things that are not seene. You haue graunted many ab-
surdities this day, while you labour to defende that the Church
on earth is alwayes visible. And now the conclusion is worst of al,
that the visible Church (for which you are so earnest) is proued to
be no article of faith.

Campion. Why may not a man see & yet beleue, Peter saw
him whom he beleued, saying, thou art Christ the sonne of the
liuing God, &c.

Fulke. That which hee sawe of Christ, was experimentall
knowledge: but that which he confessed, Christ to be the sonne of
God, was of faith, and not of sense. For flesh and blood reuealed is
not vnto him, but God from heauen. That which Peter sawe of
Christ with his bodily eyes, was seene of many unbeleeuing
Jewes; and of Iudas the traitor: but his confession (which came of
faith) he had not by bodily sight, but by diuine reuelation. It is not
of faith, to see men which are the members of the Church, but to
see them as they are members of the Church, that is of faith: ther-
fore that which is seene of the Church, is not of faith.

Camp. Why, you said the Church might be seene by experi-
mentall faith, as Peter saw Christ and beleued.

Fulke. When said I so?

Campion. Euen now, when you spake of Peter.

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Fulke. I neuer thought it, much lesse did I speake it. It is needfull there should be writing, els I see you would outface the matter: I said the cleane contrarie, That which Peter sawe of Christ, was experimentall knowledge, and not faith: that which he beleueed and confessed, he sawe not. Euen so I say, that which we beleuee and confesse in our Creede of the Catholike Church, wee neither do see, neither can we see.

Campion. I can see the whole world, though I cannot see it all at once: so I can see the Catholike Church in her partes, although I cannot see it all at once, or in one place.

Fulke. Whatsoeuer you can see at seuerall times, and in seuerall places of the Catholike Church, is no article of faith. For that which we beleuee of the Catholike Church, is not seene at any time, or in any place.

Campion. That is true.

Fulke. Ergo the whole Catholike Church, and euery part thereof, as it is of faith, is not visible.

Here *Campion* of himselfe brake vp.

Campion. Shall we meete againe. It were to be considered of what question we shall talke.

Here question being made, what point they should deale vpon, and being asked, whether he would defend the Church of Rome to be the true Church of Christ, he denied to medle therein, as being dangerous, vnlesse leaue might be obtained of her Maiesties most honourable Counsaile. Then being demanded, whether he would deale with that question in the after noone, Whether the Church might erre, he consented, the company present agreeing therunto: And so the houre was appointed at two of the clocke after dinner: the Replyers having no longer time to prouide their arguments.

In

In the after noone.

3 The Question. whether the
visible Church may erre.

First, because promise was made in the forenoone
that those places which were omitted, should bee
shewed, D. Goade brought fourth his place out
of Chrysostome vpon Marth. 5. *Rursus eos per
ista qd bene viuendum ac diligentiam cohortatur,
ostendens vt studeant esse solliciti, quasi ante omniū
oculos constituti, & in medio orbis terrarum theatro. Nolite inquit
aspicere, quia in isto nunc residemus loco, in exigua sumus parte cer-
taminis. Sic enim eritis manifesti cunctis quemadmodum ciuitas in
montis vertice collocata, vel sicut Incerna in domo super candelabrū
relucens.* Again by these things he exhorteth them by diligence
of well liuing, that they might stande to be carefull as they that
are set before all mens eyes, and in the middest of the Theatre of
the whole world. Do not you regard (saith he) that we remaine
nowe in this place, and are but in a small part of our battle: for
you shalbe so manifest to all men, as a citie placed vpon the top
of a hill, or as a candle shining in a house vpon a candlestick, &c.
Here you see by the iudgement of Chrysostome, expounding
the place, that it onely respecteth the Apostles which you denied
to day. For he exhorteth them to liue well, as those that are set in
the sight and eyes of all, and therefore must be carefull howe they
beare themselves vpon that open stage of the whole worlde, being
as a citie vpon an hill.

Campion. The place is nothing against me, for it pertaineth
to the whole Church. Doth Chrysostome cōtrary any thing spo-
ken by me? doeth not their function, their faith and religion, their
place shew that this is not spoken onely to them?

Goade. These are but wordes. It is plaine, hee noteth their
doctrine by the salt, and their conuersation by the light.

Campion. He speaketh not any thing contrarie to that which
I haue said.

Goade. Yes, you say the place meaneth the whole Church to
proue the visibilitie thereof, as a citie set vpon an hill, can not bee
hidde. Whereas Chrysostome interpreteth it of the Ministerie
onely,

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onely, as is manifest by þ word Salt, & the whole drift of the place, Campion. Of all other, first it belongeth to the Prelates, then to their flockes, as I haue shewed you by the example of a Pastor of a familie,

Goade, It belongeth in deede to the flocke also to liue well, but this place is not directed vnto them, It is absurde, against the whole scope of the place, to make a general cōclusion from a particular, from the Apostles to the whole Church.

Campion, The Apostles were saythfull, they include the whole Church, as they were Christians, and not Apostles.

Goade, Why then, that which was spoken to the Apostles, was likewise spoken to the Church, But it was sayd to the Apostles, Drinke you all of this : ergo to the whole Church.

Camp. That was personall, and in respect of their function, he spake onely in respect of those that were present, but there was none present but the Apostles : like that which was said to the Apostles, Goye and preach to all nations, baptizing, &c. doeth he therefore commande the people also to preache and minister the Sacraments ?

Goade, The case is farre vnlike. The receauing of the Sacramentes belong to all Christians : they must all receaue. And though preaching the word, and ministring, in respect of the function, be onely appoynted to the Apostles and Ministers : yet the word and Sacraments, are cōmon to al Christians. So by manifest difference it appeareth, that the cōmandement, Go & preach, is personall, belonging to one calling : and the cōmandement Drinke ye all of this, is generall to all the faithfull.

Camp. There is no place in the institution that commandes the common people to drinke, or not to drinke.

Goade, The Apostle (the best interpreter of Chrites institution) applieth it to the whole Church, 1. Cor. 11. verse 23. That which I receaued of the Lord, &c. And by the same reason you may say as was said before, there is no cōmandement to receaue the Communion.

Camp. There is no cōmandement in that institution, that the lay people should receaue the Communion.

Fulke, That is a shamefull absurditie. But now seeing the place is shewed, let vs come to the questiō agreed vpon, Whether the

Aburde. The
commande-
ment in the
institution
bindeth Chri-
stians to re-
ceiue the cup.
And Paul saith
1. Cor. 11. That
which I recei-
ued of the
Lord; whereby
he teacheth
that he had
a comman-
dement.

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the Church militant may erre: That it may erre, I none thus.
 Whatsoeuer error is incident to euery member, is incident to the whole:

But it is incident to euery member to erre:

Ergo to the whole.

Campion. I deny both the Maior and Minor.

Fulke. Why, the Maior is from a place in Logique: that which is incident to euery part, must needs be incident to the whole: as euery part of a mans body, is subject to corruption, therefore the whole body is subject to corruption.

Campion. There is no such place in Logique. Euery man may erre, but not the whole gathered together; Your example is not like: for the whole hath a promise, and so hath not euery particular man.

Fulke. The whole hath no promise that it shall not erre, more then euery particular member: for euery member of Christ hath the spirit of Christ, which is the spirit of trueth, and therefore the same promise that the whole hath.

Camp. Why, then there should be no heretikes.

Fulke. Yes, heretikes may be within the Church, but not of the Church: *Si ex nobis essent permansissent nobiscum* saith Saint Iohn, If they had bene of vs, they had abidden with vs.

Camp. They were of vs in apparance, & in outward shewe.

Fulke. I denie that they were of vs, though in outward profession they seemed to bee of vs: for in deede they were neuer of vs. Iohn 3. They went out from vs, but they were neuer of vs. And he addeth the reason: For, if they had bene of vs, they had remained with vs. They were within the Church, but they were neuer of the Church.

Campion. Christ saith of them that fall away in persecution, that they beleued y^e Gospel: therefore before persecution they were of vs, but they departed from vs, &c. they were of vs according to faith, though they were not according to election.

Fulke. Christ speaketh not there of true iustifying faith, nor of the elect, but of those that beleued for a time. For if they had bene of vs, they would haue remained still with vs; but they were not of vs, neither according to iustifying faith, nor according to election.

Campion. The meaning of Iohn is, they were not of vs according

L.I.

ding

Aburde. Who can dispute with him that denieth the groundes of disputation?

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ding to the election of God, yet they were of the militant Church, which containeth good and euill.

Fulke. It is true, that in the visible Church be contained both good and euill: but the elect onely are of the Church.

Camp. Why, what say you by Dauid when hee committed adulterie, was he elect and the childe of God?

Fulke. I say he did wickedly, but yet he was and remained elect, and the childe of God.

Camp. This is strange. But I say, when hee committed adulterie, he was the childe of the deuill: for it is plaine,

He that committeth sinne is the seruant of sinne:

But Dauid committed sinne:

Ergo he was the seruant of sinne and the childe of the deuill.

Goade. The meaning of the place is, that he that giueth him selfe ouer to sinne is the seruant of sinne, to be led wholly by it, in whom sinne reigneth. But no particular sinne in the elect, doeth make the children of God to become the children of the Deuill, neither doth separate them from the hope of saluation.

Fulke. He that is once a true member of Christ, can neuer become a member of the Deuill.

Campion. Then once good, and neuer euill.

Fulke. That followeth not. Hee may fall into euill, but neuer finally.

Goade. The place is to be vnderstoode of him that falleth of malice, and not of him that falleth by infirmitie.

Campion. He that falleth into adulterie, falleth maliciously: for he may resist if he will. For euery member of the Church hath power to withstand sinne if he will.

Fulke. Nowe, we shall haue free will.

Campion. I meane not of him selfe, but by grace. For when God hath giuen him grace, he may if he will resist. Answere me this place, He is the seruant of sinne that committeth sinne.

Fulke. You were answered before.

Campion. Why then you holde, that a Catholike falling into adulterie is still the childe of God. I graunt that for euery offere God doth not cast out his sonnes. For in a great house, *In magna domo*, there be many sonnes, which though they be disobedient, they cease not to be sonnes till they be cast out, &c. but when they are cast out, they are no more the sonnes of God.

Fulke.

This discontented others also that stood by.

conference.

Fulke. God casteth out none of his sonnes. For, if they bee sonnes, they are also heyres. They are the Apostles wordes.

Camp. I say they are sonnes for the time, which are cast out. *Ejcit in exteriores tenebras.* He casteth them out into vtter darknes. He that had not the nuptiall garment, maketh this claime to be the sonne of God, and sitteth downe amongst Gods children, but he is cast out into vtter darkenes.

Fulk. But he was neuer any sonne, but an hypocrite, & therefore no maruaille if he were cast out: S. Paul saith, & a sonne is an heire.

Camp. Why, are not all that are baptized the sonnes of God?

Fulke. No, for they haue not all the spirit of adoption.

Camp. Why then, what iudge you of infants that die without Baptisme, or immediatly after they are baptized: are they not the children of God?

Fulke. I take not vpon me to iudge. But if they be not Gods elect, baptisme cannot make them his children.

Camp. Then Christ commanded baptisme in bayne, if it saue not those that are baptized.

Fulke. That is not so: for there is a necessary vble of baptizing, though the holy Ghost bee not giuen to euery one that receyueth baptisme. I baptize with water (sayth John Baptist) but Christ baptizeth with the holy Ghost.

Camp. I wil proue that infants are without sinne, & therefore must needes be saued. For if they haue sinne, they must either haue original sinne, or actual sinne: but being baptized, they haue neither of both: (for originall sinne is taken away by baptisme, & as for actual sinne, they neuer committed any) ergo they are without sinne.

Fulke. Original sinne is not taken away from any in this life, but it is not imputed to the elect.

M. Lieutenant. *Q.* Doctours, the question that was appointed before dinner, was, Whether the visible Church may erre.

Goade. M. Lieutenant, he continually draweth vs into netwe questions to auoide the matter in controuersie. Shall I enter that question? I wil recite some churches in the Apostles times, & aske your iudgemēt of the, & then go to mine argumēt. The Churches of Corinth & of Galatia, what say you to the? The Church of Corinth (though they had a promise, as you said) did erre about & matter of resurrectiō: & church of Galatia, about & matter of iustificatiō

They may be reconed borne within the couenant, but they are not his children, if they be not elected, though we iudge the not: because their not being elected, doth not appeare vnto vs.

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Camp. The Apostle thought he wrote to all, yet he meaneth but some few of them. And what are these to the whole Church, being but particular churches: the militant Church of Christ comprehendeth the whole number of churches on earth. As for the error of the church of Galatia, it was no other wise reppoued then as preachers are wont to reppoue, who are wont to rebuke all for some that are faulty.

Goade. In deepe you say some thing concerning that of Corinth. I grant the error was not so generall. For he sayth, *Quidā inter vos, &c.* Certaine amongst you, &c. But for the Galathians it was other wise. For the whole Church was iustly reppoued, according to that, O you foolish Galathians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not beleue the truth? These wholly fell & were not particular members, but whole Churches, planted by the Apostles themselves, replenished with speciall gifts of the holy Ghost. And if these failed in the Apostles time, & in so great a matter, what priuiledge haue any other churches since, that they should not likewise erre, & so consequently what priuiledge hath the militant church?

Campion. Make your argument, and then we shall see what ye will conclude.

Goade. So then I make mine argument.

The second argument, Whatsoeuer congregation doth erre in matters of faith, is not the true Church:

But the Church of Rome erreth in matters of faith:

Ergo the Church of Rome is not the true Church.

Campion. This is from the question. M. Lieutenant might do well to put vs in minde of the question.

Goade. I remember the question wel. I bring an instance according to your meaning, because you in saying that the Church cannot erre, meane the church of Rome cannot erre: this priuiledge agreeth not to the church of Rome, which you say is the true Church.

Camp. I deny your Minor. The Church of Rome hath not erred. You suppose the Church of Rome to be the true Church, and I beleue it.

Goade. In deed I only suppose it for disputations sake, & beleue it not: but the errors are infinite, & I should weary my selfe & all the company, to rehearse many. I omit inferior errors of lesse waight and moment, and come to those that shake the foundation of faith.

Campion. We shall then runne into all controuersies: bring some

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some proper error that I my selfe shall confesse to be an error, that the church of Rome holdeth.

Goade. Why a generall must be taken away by particulars.

Campion. That is true.

Goade. Then I reason thus. It hath erred, & doeth erre in y^e foundation, touching saluatiō by Christ: ergo it is subiect to error.

Campion. It doeth not, God forbid it should. But if you will properly proue it hath erred, shewe me that some generall Council hath erred.

Goade. Well, I will followe you in this poynt. The Council of Trent hath erred in many poyntes of doctrine, and namely in the matter of iustificatiō: ergo a generall Council hath erred.

Campion. I deny the Antecedent, &c.

Goade. It ascribeth whole or part of righteousness to be inherent in our selues:

But this is an error:

Ergo it erreth in iustificatiō, &c. The very wordes I do not remember, but this is the effect of the doctrine, that *inherens iustitia est pars iustificatiōis*, That inherent righteousness is a part of iustificatiō,

Campion. The Council hath no such wordes, or if it haue, it doth not ascribe any thing to righteousness cleauing in our selues, as of our selues, but as giuen of God. In deede it is in vs, but as y^e gift of God. As there are vertues, faith, hope & charitie, which must be in vs seruing to this righteousness, which yet are not of vs.

Here was promised that the place should be shewed.

Goade. Whatsoeuer is in vs that must iustifie vs before the iust iudgement of God, must be perfect:

But our righteousness is not perfect:

Ergo our righteousness cannot either in whole or part iustifie vs.

Campion. I answer your Maior: it must be perfect, according to that perfection that God requireth of vs in this life.

Goade. This is most corrupt. For God wil haue a perfect and undefiled righteousness, such as he hath set downe in his owne law. *Qui fecerit, &c.* He that shall do them, shall liue in them. Gal. 3. Again, *Maledictus est omnis, qui non permanserit in omnibus que scripta sunt in libro Legis, vt faciat ea, &c.* Cursed is euery one that abideth not in all thinges that are written in that booke, to doe them, &c.

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Campion. I say, God doeth not exact such a perfect righteousness according to the lawe, for we are deliuered from that by Christ, &c.

Goade. Then we must rest on Christ alone: but if we will be iustified by any part of righteousness in our selues, it must be perfect. For Gods iustice alloweth no vnperfect righteousness. Doe you thinke you can fulfill this lawe: &c.

Campion. Yea that I can.

Goade. Can you loue God aboue all things, & your neighbour as your selfe? Can you loue him with all your heart, with all your soule, and with all your strength?

Campion. I can. For when I preferre God before all things, and loue him chiefly, I loue him aboue all.

Fulke. Note that blasphemous absurditie.

Goade. If a man may fulfill the lawe to iustification, then Christ dyed in vayne.

Campion. What now, shall we haue hissing: &c.

Goade. Sure it is worthy of hissing, and of blushing too, if you had any feare of God before your eyes, or conscience. I praye God make you to vnderstand the absurdities that you holde, that you may be ashamed of them, and renounce them.

Campion. Why, is euery motion to sinne deadly sinne: &c.

Goade. You are like y^e Pharisee, that thought the keeping of the lawe to consist in the outward letter. What say you, is not concupiscence, & the motions of the flesh against y^e lawe of God, sinne?

Campion. No that they are not: for if I being tempted, refrain my selfe, and when I haue a motion to euill, brydle my selfe from it: as, if I see my neighbours goods, and haue a motion to steale, and do not, do I not herein loue my neighbour as my selfe? If a man bee in the Queenes Jewell house, where he may take some precious thing, and brydle himselfe of it and abstaine, shall this man be condemned? What will you condemne a man for euery little temptation? It is a good thing to be tempted. &c. Iam. 1. Blessed is he that endureth temptation.

Goade. Ye abuse the place. For it is vnderstood of afflictions. And as for concupiscence, it is the transgression of the lawe: Thou shalt not lust, ergo it is sinne. But I will leaue this as impertinent to the purpose. Consider that notable place in the ende of the

fift

Here there was a little whispering amonges the company, as if it had bene a fast hissing.

Scripture most absurdly applyed.

first chapter to the Corinth. Epist. 2. Him that knewe no sinne he made sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him, not in our selues, to shewe that it is no righteousnes cleauing in vs but in Christ, & is made ours by imputation, euen as our sinnes were imputed to Christ: consider the place hereafter with your selfe.

Fulke. Marke here his absurdities. First he holdeth, that hee Campion's absurdities. can keepe the lawe in such perfection as God requircth: and hee can loue God with all his heart, with all his soule, and with all his strength, and his neighbour as himselfe. Secondly, he affirmeth that though he haue a lust to steale, yet if hee hidle that lust, hee loueth his neighbour as him selfe. Thirdly, he holdeth that we are iustified by inherent righteousnes, which he thinketh to colour by the grace and gift of God. But neuerthelesse, ye are in the case of the Pharisee, Luke 18, which trusteth in his owne righteousnes, & yet ascribeth all to the grace of God, saying, I thanke thee, &c. He boasted not before men, but humbly gaue thanks vnto God, acknowledging his righteousnes to be Gods gift, and yet Christ tolde this parable against him and such as hee is, which trust in themselves that they are righteous, that is, by iustice inherent, although they confesse they haue it by the grace and gift of God.

Campion. But this was of pride that hee gloried in his righteousnes, and therefore the parable is tolde against himselfe.

Fulke. I graunt that he was proude, and so are all iusticiaries that trust in themselves that they are righteous, howsoeuer they would cloke their pride, by ascribing it to the gift of God: but he is condemned for trusting in himselfe that he was righteous, that is, for inherent righteousnes, which neuerthelesse he ascribed not to his owne strength, but to the grace of God, saying, I thanke thee God, &c. But I will go to an another argument.

Campion. I pray you let me answer this argument first, for it shalbe reported that I said this and that, and my wordes shalbe depraued. I say therefore, there are two wayes of iustification: one in vs, another without vs. Christ is a cause of iustification by his grace and merite without vs, and so we are iustified by baptism: and we are iustified by the giftes of God in vs, faith, hope, and charitie. how say you, were not these my wordes? And why then do you challenge me for saying we are iustified by Gods righteousnesse, Campion's faith,

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faith, hope, and charitie, which is within vs. For how say you, are we not iustified by faith: and is not faith within vs?

Fulke. I challenged you for blasphemous absurditie, in saying you could loue God with all your heart, with all your soule, and strength. And albeit hope and charitie follow that same faith, (by which we are iustified) in the regenerate that are the children of God: yet we are not iustified by them, no nor by faith, otherwise then instrumentally, as by apprehending the righteousnesse of Christ, which is without vs, and is no otherwise ours then by imputation. And howe can you loue God with all your heart &c. when you can not giue him an entire loue, according to his lawe?

Campion. I sayde a man may loue God with all his heart in this life, according to his lawe, when hee doeth preferre God before all the thinges in the worlde: as when a man doeth chiefly preferre him, &c.

Fulke. But can you loue God onely?

Campion. A man loueth God onely, when hee loueth him chiefly, &c.

Fulke. Chiefely and only is all one: wite that.

Campion. Why, thinke you the lawe was giuen to no purpose? I am sure it was giuen to be fulfilled, and we are not bidden to keepe it, if it were impossible.

Fulke. The lawe was giuen for another cause, then that wee should be iustified by fulfilling it: namely, to shew vs our infirmities, that we may be conuicted of sinne.

Campion. That is a wise cause in deede. Belike a father commandeth his children, not that they should do his will, but because he would haue them to see that they can not do it.

Fulke. As though almightie God can haue none other ende of giuing commandements, then mortall men vse to haue. But this is not to the question. I would goe forward with an other argument, if you would suffer me.

Camp. You will giue me leaue to declare my meaning.

Fulke. Belike you haue an yll opinion of the auditors, that they can vnderstand nothing, except you tel it them twenty times ouer. If you will not suffer me to proceede, I must desire Master Lieutenante to commaunde you.

3. Argumēt. If a generall Council may erre, then the Church may erre:

But

conference.

But a generall Council may erre:

Therefore the Church may erre.

Campion. I denie the Minor.

Fulke. A generall Council may be corrected, as Augustine saith: therefore it may erre.

Campion. It may be declared or explained, but not corrected by a contrary decree.

Fulke. Will you heare the place? it is Tom. 6. lib. 2. contra Donatistas cap. 3. *Quis autem nesciat sanctam Scripturam canonicam tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus Episcoporum literis ita preponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari & disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quicquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit. Episcoporum autem literas, quae post confirmatum Canonem vel scripta sunt, vel scribantur, & per sermonem forte sapientiore cuiuslibet in ea re peritoris, & per aliorum Episcoporum grauiorem auctoritatem doctiorumque prudentiam, & per Concilia licere reprehendi, siquidem eis forte a veritate deuiatum est. Et ipsa Concilia quae per singulas regiones vel prouincias sunt, plenariorum Conciliorum auctoritati quae sunt ex vniuerso orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere: ipsaque plenaria saepe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, & cognoscitur quod latebat, sine ullo typho sacrilega superbia, sine ulla inflata cernice arrogancia, sine ulla contentione linidae inuidiae, cum sancta humilitate, cum pace catholica, cum charitate Christiana.* That is to say, Who knoweth not, that the holy Canonickall Scripture, both of the old & new Testamēt is cōtained within her certain bounds, and that the same is so preferred before all latter writings of Bishops, that of it there can not be any doubt or questio at al, whether it be true or whether it be right, whatsoener is certainly knowen to be written therein. But that the letters of Bishops, which since the canon cōfirmed, either haue bene writtē, or be now in writing, may be reprehēded both by the saying which is perhaps more wise, of any mā that is more skilful in that matter, & also by the more graue auctority & wisdom of other bishops, that be better learned, if any thing in them perhaps be declined out of the way of truth. And that euen those Councils which are held in euery region or prouince, without al doubt must giue

The second dayes

place to general Councils, which are gathered of all the Christian world: and that euen the generall Councils them selues are often corrected, the former by the latter, when by any tryall of things, that is opened which was shut vp, and that is knowen which was hidden, without any swelling of sacrilegious pride, without any stiffe necke of arrogancie, without any contention of malicious enuie, with holy humilitie, with Catholike peace, with Christian charitie. Here you haue a plaine place, that onely the Scripture can not erre, that al others wryters may erre, that all prouinciall Councils may erre, and last of all, generall Councils them selues may be corrected, the former by the latter: therefore without question they may erre.

Campion. I answered before you read, that a general Council may be declared and better explained, but not corrected.

Fulke. It may be amended, and therefore corrected. There is no difference betweene amending and correcting.

Camp. So farre forth it may be corrected, as it may be better explained, but not to set out things that are contrary. For generall Councils are not one contrary to the other.

Fulke. Saint Augustine saith, The generall Council may be ignorant of some thing at the beginning, that afterwarde by experience may be amended: some thing may be close, which afterwarde may be opened: it may be hid to one Council, that may be knowen of another. And the Antithesis in these wordes must needes stand, that only the Scriptures cannot erre, and therefore are not to be corrected. As for Councils generall and prouincial, and Bishops writings of al sorts, may be corrected, and therefore they may erre.

Campion. A generall Council may erre in matter of fact, as in condemning and absolving some Bishops, &c. but it cannot erre in matters of doctrine.

Fulke. Doe you knowe whereof Augustine speaketh in this place? &c.

Camp. Yea, as well as you.

Fulke. Why then, declare it before this companie.

Campion. He speaketh of a matter of fact.

Fulke. Haue you shewe your selfe altogether ignorant of the matter: for he speaketh of a Council of Carthage, that was helde

And yet who knoweth not that generall Councils haue bene contrary one directly against another Here the Papists in a libell brought out of Lãcashire, do report this far otherwise, as they do all the rest: but none truly, they that were present can tell.

helde in Cyprians time, wherein was concluded an error of faith. For they had decreed, that such were to be rebaptized, as had bin baptized of heretikes. With which decree, and Cyprians authoritie (who was President of the Council) when Saint Augustine was pressed, he answereth, that onely the Scripture coulde not erre, but all other both Bishops writings, and Councils might erre, and therefore might be reformed, &c.

Camp. He speaketh not of a matter of faith, as appeareth by the word experiment. For there can be no experiment in a matter of faith: here it can not be amended.

Fulke. These are vaine shifts. Men may finde by experience they haue erred.

Campion. The worde amending, sheweth that it was in manners.

Fulke. To be corrected and amended is all one, and may bee as well in faith as in manners, and the argument whereof he entreateth, and the Antichesis he maketh betwene the Scriptures, and all other authorities, sheweth plainly, that he meaneth of error of faith. But seeing you haue nothing else to answer, I will leaue it to the consideration of them that be wise and learned, and so long as you bring no matter, I will not answer your wordes.

Goade. Seeing you stande vpon Councils, I will proceede that way.

Generall Councils haue erred, ergo, &c.

4. Argum,

Camp. I denie the Antecedent.

Goade. They are contrary one to another, &c.

Camp. I deny it.

Goade. The Council of Constantinople, and the Council of Nice are contrary.

Camp. They are not.

Here for lacke of the booke present, it was referred to the shewing of the place afterward.

Goade. They are contrary in the matter of Images, namely the Council of Constantinople condemning the setting vp of Images in the Church: and the Council of Nice afterwarde allowing Images.

Campion. You can not shewe, that they were contrary one to another.

Goade. It shall be shewed after ward. I will come to another

P.ii.

generall

The second dayes

generall Council. The Council of Constance hath erred in matter of faith: ergo a generall Council hath erred.

Campion. I denie the Antecedent.

Goade. The Council of Constance erred in taking away the cuppe from the common people: this was a matter of faith: ergo that Council erred in matter of faith.

Campion. Thus we shall runne into all questions, and then we shal haue done this time twelue moneths. This was no error in the Council: for I say there is no commaundement that the people should be partakers of the cuppe.

Goade. By the same reason you may as well exclude the people from the bread also, but though you haue in this point denied the force of Chyistes institution: yet the commaundement in the same is plaine, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drinke ye all of this, And Paul interpreteth it so, 1. Cor, 11. deliuering as well the cuppe as the bread to the whole Church, euen as he had receiued of the Lorde. The Council of Constance decreeth against it: ergo a manifest and foule error in that Council.

Campion. Doeth Saint Paul make it a precept that the lay people should receiue the cuppe?

Goade. Paul inuend with the spirit of God, giueth a flat precept in the same chapter, verse 28, *Probet seipsum homo*, Let a man try him selfe; and so let him eat of that bread, and drinke of that cuppe. These are plaine precepts, Let him eat, Let him drinke: and here is as great a commaundement to the whole Church for the one, as for the other.

Campion. The place is to be understood, when he doeth receiue, and vnder the obedience of the Church, it may be done. And this that you make so much a doe about, I haue seene it done to many Catholikes my selfe: but it is not so necessary, that you should make such a doo about it.

Goade. It is not left free, but an expresse commaundement, and therefore necessary. It is the Imperative mode, and therefore a commaundement, I maruaile howe you can stande in this, being so plaine?

Fulke. Here are two thinges, *Probet, & Edat, & bibat*, Let him examine him selfe, and let him eate and drinke, and both be commaundements, First, he must be prepared, and then

then he must eate, and not onely eate, but he must drinke also. For as the institution is of eating and drinking, so is the commandement of the Apostle taken from the institution. And if there be no commandement, then is no man bounde to receiue the Lords Supper.

Camp. No, it is a thing indifferent by the institutio touching the common people, sauing that onely the authoritie of y^e Church hath layde it vpon vs: here you may see y^e authoritie of the church, in things not commanded.

Goade. It is a commandement, both in the institution and by the Apostle, 1. Corinth. 11. saying, That which I receiued, I deliuered: grounding his commandement vpon the institution, and therefore commanded in the institution.

Campion. P^{er}ea, he saith when he will, or when he doth receiue, then let him examine him selfe.

Fulke. These are your owne wordes, there is no such worde here. When hee will, and when he doeth, he must proue him selfe, and so he must eate. The wordes which the Apostle bleseth here, are both the imparatiue mode in the Greeke text: Let him examine himselfe, and let him eate and drinke.

Campion. I graunt there are two preceptes, but this is the summe and ende, *Ut digni edat*, That he may eate worthily.

Fulke. Here is the booke, see it and reade it: this is the originall, giue him the booke, it is a reasonable great print.

Camp. You are still brynging mee to reade Greeke, what childish dealing is this, can I not see the imparatiue mode aswell in the Latine as in the Greeke, shall this disadvantage the cause? I haue (I thanke God) and you shal know it, as much Greeke as will serue my turne, and when there is occasion to vse it, I will vse we it. But is not y^e Latin tongue as good a tongue as y^e Greeke? &c.

Fulke. You were best confesse your ignorance. We make not tongues the measure of the truth, but we bring the originall to preuent your cauilations, and your finding fault with translations. But I will deale with you with an other argument.

The whole Church did thinke it necessarie for infantes to receiue:

Ergo the whole Church hath erred, &c.

Campion. Howe wee shall haue a question whether infantes

Absurde. For there is as great necessitie of the one Sacrament as the other.

The Greeke testament being reached vnto him, he refused to reade it in the Greeke. All this is but a vaine brag for his sight in Greeke was very litle or none at al, as may appeare in the first dayes conference, here also, and afterwards.

Argument, 3.

The second dayes

may receaue, so we shall runne into all questions.

Fulke. Not so. But I will proue that Innocentius Bishop of Rome, and all the Church with him, as S. Augustine confesseth, held this error, that it is necessary for infantcs to receiue the communion, which you your selfe holde to bee an error, seeing you affirme it is not of necessitie by Christs commandement, that any lay men should receiue it. You shal heare the wordes of Augustine and of Innocentius both, as Augustine citeth them, Why, are you afraide of the place before you come at it, let me reade it, Saint Augustine citeth the wordes of Innocentius, out of his Epistle to the Bishops of Numidia, Lib. 2. ad Bonifacium contra duas epist. Pelag. cap. 4. *Hæc enim eius uerba sunt. Illud uero quod eos uestra fraternitas asserit predicare paruulos æternæ uitæ præmijs etiam sine baptismatis gratia posse donari, per fatuum est. Nisi enim manducauerint carnem filij hominis, & biberint sanguinem eius, non habebunt uitam in semetipsis: qui autem hanc eius sine regeneratione defendunt, uidentur mihi ipsum baptismum uelle cassare.* For these are his wordes. But where as your brotherhoode affirmeth them to preache, that little children may bee rewarded with the gift of eternall life, euen without the grace of Baptisme, it is a very foolish thing. For except they shal eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, they shall haue no life in themselves. But they which defende this vnto them, without regeneration, seeme to me that they wil make frustrate baptism it selfe Upon which wordes of Innocentius, Saint Augustine inferreth, *Ecce, beata memoria Innocentius papa, sine baptismo Christi, & sine participatione corporis & sanguinis Christi, uitam non habere paruulos dicit.* Beholde, the Pope Innocent of blessed memorie saith, that little children cannot haue life without the participation of the body and blood of Christ. In these wordes Saint Augustine sheweth the generall practise of the Church was, that infantcs shoulde receaue, because it was thought necessarie vnto saluation.

Campion. It was onely a practise, it was no opinion of necessitie of saluation,

Fulke. Saint Augustine writeth against the Pelagians, that helde that Baptisme was not necessarie for infantcs, and that infantcs might be saued without Baptisme, against whome hee reasoneth thus, Infantcs can not bee saued without they receaue the commu-

Here Campio interrupted him, saying, there was no such place & made much a doe.

Augustine argument.

commu-

communio: but they cannot receive the communion vntles they be first baptizd: ergo infants cannot be saued vntles they be baptizd. And to proue that they cannot be saued except they receaue the communion, hee alleaged the decree or diffinitive sentence of Innocentius.

Campion. Saint Augustine saith not, that the whole Church thought it necessary to saluation. But when Innocentius commanded that infants should communicate, it was but a necessitie of the commandement, the necessitie was not in the thing, but to keepe the vnitie of the church, and so no error of faith, but a lawful practice of the Church: but thewe the decree.

Fulke. You haue heard the words of Innocentius, out of his synodicall Epistle, and thus Saint Augustine citeth his decree: *Ecce, beata memoria Innocentius papa, sine baptismo Christi, &c.* Loe, Innocentius the Pope of blessed memorie, &c.

Campion. There is no such decree: I will beleue none of your notes. He saith they bee damned vntles they be baptizd, but he saith not, they be damned except they receive the communion.

Fulke. He saith both: you shall see the booke, seeing you will not credit my notes.

Goade. Upon supposition as before, I wil suppose as you beleue concerning the church of Rome. The head (as you hold him) of that Church, hath erred in matter of faith: ergo the Church being the members, are subiect to error.

Campion. I denie your Antecedent.

Goade. Saint Peter did erre in faith, and that, after the sending downe of the holy Ghost vpon him and the rest: therefore the principall head of the Church, as you account of Peter.

Campion. He did not erre in faith. I knowe the place, Gal. 2. It was a matter of maners not of doctrine. For it was but a little dissimulation.

Goade. It was matter of doctrine, for it was somewhat concerning that, where about the Concill was gathered at Hierusalem touching Circumcision.

Campion. He utterly mistake it, for it was about the obseruation of the Lawe by the Gentiles, and not concerning Circumcision.

Goade. I nowe well remember, it was not directly about the question

Here the booke was promised to be brought & the place to be shewed.

6. Argumēt.

The second dayes

question of Circumcision. But it is certaine, Peter was in that error, that the Gospel pertained not as all to the Gentiles, untill hee was reformed by vision, Act. 10. For then at length he said, *Nunc tandem comperio, &c.* Nowe at length I finde, &c: so he was for a time in error. But for the place, Gal. 2, it is saide, *Nos ambulauit recto pede ad veritatem euangelij.* Hee walked not with a right foote according to the truth of the Gospel, &c.

Camp. It was but a final matter of dissimulation in maners,

Goade. The text saith, Paul withstoode him to the face, because he was blame worthy, and iustly to be reproofed: therefore it was no small matter. And Augustine against Hierome, *De Petro iure reprehensio, Epist. 19.* doth iustifie this open reproofe by S. Paul, though Hierome laboured to lessen this fault, &c.

Campion. And so do I. But this proueth not that it was any matter of faith.

Fulke. It was against the truth of the Gospel:

Trueth is contrary to error:

Ergo it was an error of faith.

Camp. I haue said the fault was in maners, for dissimulation. When I saue that he did not walke well, or right, &c. as at this day any poore Priest may tell the Pope, seeing the Pope to erre in maners, and may say vnto him, Syr, why do you so?

Fulke. But that is against your owne Canon Law. For what so euer the Pope doth, no man may say: Syr, why did you so?

Campion. I thinke there can be shewed no such words in the Lawes.

Fulke. I pray you answer me, Did Peter dissemble against his conscience, or with it? Surely he did it not for any worldly respect, but because he thought it was his dutie in so doing to beare with the weakenes of the Iewes, & to thinke that a man may dissemble in such a case, is a matter of faith: therefore his error was a matter of faith, and not of fact onely.

Camp. Why, in some case the Catholikes thinke they may communicate with you, come to your churches, & you againe communicate to vs, & goto our churches, dispute & conferre to vs, &c.

Fulke. I woulde with you to conceine your selfe, I knowe where you are. It is a matter that doth not belong vnto you. You shoud not a thing you ought to be silent in. It is a matter of state, it were best for you to leaue such things.

Camp.

Here it was
promised that
it shoulde be
shewed.

conference.

Camp. I meane to dispute, what, do you threaten?

Fulke. No, but I giue you good counsaile, I am moze your friende then you are aware of. I thinke, you are already founde deepe enough in such matters. But to another argument.

The generall Councille confesseth that it may erre:

Ergo the Church may erre.

The seuēth
Argument.

Camp. In deede this is to the point, if you can proue it.

Fulke. Answer directly, and you shall see I will proue it so, as you shall not be able to auoyde it. The whole councille prayeth in the end of euery general Council, in a set forme of prayer, that God will pardon their error: ergo they cōfesse they may erre, &c. for thus they say, *Te in nostris principijs occursores poposcimus, te quoque in hoc sine iudiciorum nostrorum, pro excessibus indultorem adesse precamur, scilicet ut ignorantie parcas, et errori indulgeas, &c.* This is the very forme of their prayer. We prayed that thou wouldest be an ayder in our beginnings, thee also in this ende of our iudgements we pray to be present as a pardoner of our excesses, that is to say, that thou wouldest spare our ignorance, and pardon our error. Were you see plainely, they confesse they may erre, when they desire pardon of their errors.

This D. Fulke
read out of his
note booke.
Concilior. Tom.
primo de ord.
celab. concilii.

Campion. Master Doctor, they pray against your errors, do they not? that God would pardon your errors.

Fulke. They pray, that if they themselves haue erred, they may be pardoned, they speake of their own errors committed in their owne Councille, and the wordes that follow doe plainely expresse the same.

Camp. I would see the printed booke, & first, I would know whether they speake of any error of faith: then secondly, I would knowe if it can be shewed wherein the Councille erred.

Fulke. Seeing the Councille by this prayer confesseth that it may erre, what neede it be shewed wherein it erred.

Campion. Was this prayer said in the Councille of Trent?

Fulke. I knowe not, but it is the prayer that is appointed to be said after euery Councille.

Camp. I answer, the Councille of Trent will not acknowledge any error: it was some matter of facte.

Fulke. Their wordes are plaine that they may erre, not only in facte, but also in faith: & therefore they pray to be pardoned in both. *Et quia conscientia remordente tabescimus, ne aut ignorantia*

The second dayes

*nos traxerit in errorem, aut praeceptis forsitan voluntas impulerit in-
stitionem declinare, ob hoc te poscimus, te rogamus, ut si quid offensionis
in hac Concilio celebrata contraximus, condonare ac remissibile
facere digneris.* And because our owne conscience accusing vs
we do faint, least either ignorance hath drawen vs into error, or
hasty will perhaps hath driue vs to decline from iustice, we pray
thee, we beseech thee, that if we haue committed any offence in
the celebration of this Council, thou wouldest vouchsafe to for-
giue it, and to make it pardonable.

Campion. That very worde declareth, that they meane of
some error in facte, & not of doctrine. They pray, that if they haue
ignozantly erred from iustice, they might be pardoned.

Fulke. Those things which the Council doeth wisely distin-
guish, you doe unwisely confounde. They acknowledge, that ig-
nozance might drawe them into error, and heauy will drawe them
from iustice, they distinguish error from iniustice, and desire to be
pardoned of both. As for the booke, it shall be brought. We could
not haue bookes here, for we agreed vpon the question but im-
mediatly before dinner, and could not go out of the place since for
bookes, but it shall be shewed.

M. Lieutenant. Here M. Lieutenant told them the time was
past: but M. D. Fulke desired to haue one argument more.

§. Argum.

Fulke. The Council of Nice 2. decreed an error, therefore
the Church may erre.

Camp. Nowe we shall haue the matter of Images.

Fulke. You are *Nimis acutus*, you will leape ouer the stile or
euer you come at it: I meane not to speake of Images.

Camp. Well then, I denie the Antecedent.

Fulk. The Synode decreed, that Angels, Archangels, soules
of men, &c. haue bodies, are visible & circumscribable, and this is
an error: ergo they decreed an error, &c.

Camp. They decreed no such thing.

Fulke. You shall heare the words of the Council, *Actione 1.*
First, saying of one Iohanes, Bishop of Thessalonica, was read
in these wordes, *De angelis & archangelis & eorum potestatibus
quibus & nostras animas adiungo, ipsa Catholica ecclesia sic sentit,
esse quidem intelligibiles, sed non omnino corporis expertes & inuisi-
biles.* Concerning Angels and Archangels, and the powers of
them,

conference.

them, to which also I adioyne our soules, the Catholike Church her selfe doeth so thinke, that they are in deede intelligible, but not altogether without bodyes, and inuisible. Which wordes of Iohanes I thessalonicensis, the Archbishop of Constantinople Tharasius, who was prolocutor of the Council, abridgeth, and concludeth upon them, saying, *Ostendit autem pater, quod & angelos pingere oporteat, quando circumscribi possunt & ut homines apparuerunt.* This father hath shewed that we must paint the Angels also, seeing they may be circumscribed, & haue appeared as men. *Sacra Synodus dixit, Etiam Domine.* The holy Synode sayd, Yea my lord. Here you see the decree of the whole Synode approving the saying of Iohannes Thessalonicensis, and the conclusion of Tharasius thereupon.

Campion. Shewe me the decree, and let me see the Canon, many things are spoken in Councils that are not the Canons.

Fulke. I haue read the decree.

Camp. Shew me the Canon, reade their Canon.

Fulke. As though euery Council hath set forth Canons: many Councils haue no Canons, neither hath this any & I know. You shew your selfe a man well read in the Councils, & wil exact Canons of euery Council: but this was & consent & the agreemēt of the whole Council, the whole Council answered, *Etiam domine.*

Camp. Shewe me the booke.

Fulke. If I doe not shew it, then let me beare the blame.

Camp. Well, admit it be so: first, they might meane that Angels and spirits had a certaine definite substance of their being, which they called their bodies.

Fulke. Then belike they knew not how to speake: but I am sure, they knew what difference there was betwixt *substantia* & *corpus* substance & body: if they had so meant, they wanted not wordes to haue exprest their meaning.

Camp. They might thinke they had certaine subtill bodyes, according to the foyntes that they did take, as Augustine & some other haue helde: besides, this was not an error of faith.

Fulke. Ergo it was of maners, belike.

Camp. It was a small error, neither of faith nor maners.

Fulke. I proue it was an error of faith. We beleue that God is the creator of all things visible and inuisible: but if Angels and spirits

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Spirits be visible, then are there no inuisible thinges, whereof we beleue God to be the creator. Besides, they doe not only make them visible, but circumscribable also; and therefore they doe meane bodies, and not substances generally: for onely bodies, are circumscribable.

Camp. They meane not such bodies as we haue, but such as they tooke: howe could they els be painted?

Fulke. But they (say they) were visible and circumscribable.

Campion. Because they do *Assumere corpora*, not because they had bodies in deede, but seemed to haue.

Fulke. But the Councill saith, they haue proper bodies of their own, & are circumscribable, & haue bin seene in their proper bodies

Campion. It was no decree.

Fulke. *Sacra Synodus dixit, Etiam domine*: All the holy Synode confirmed it, saying, Euen so my Lord.

Campion. Many a saint in heauē haue thought as hard matters as this, and they are saued.

Fulke. I deny not that, but yet this was an error of faith, neither doeth euery error in faith shut out a man from saluation.

Camp. In deede so you say in your booke against Bristow, that the Church may erre in matters of faith, for you say that Inuocation of Saints, and prayer for the dead, were errors in faith, and yet that they which used them, are saued. I wonder therefore why you crye out so loud in your pulpits against Inuocation of saintes, & haue nothing more in your mouthes then Blasphemie, Blasphemie, when the Catholikes mainetaine it.

Fulke. I say in deede, that Inuocation of saintes, as it was held of some of the later sort of ancient fathers, was an error in faith: but yet not such as coulde exclude them from being members of the true Church, and yet the same error as it is used of Papistes, is blasphemous. These fathers helde the foundation Faith, and therefore that error was not damnable in them.

Campion. In deed you say, that if a man haue faith, what errors soeuer he haue besides, it is well enough, so long as he holde your faith: it makes no matter what errors so euer he holde with it, he can not perishe.

Fulke. You slander my booke, I neuer wrote so.

Camp. Let me see your booke, and I will shewe it you.

Fulke. In what booke will you shewe it?

Camp.

conference.

Campion. In your booke against Bristowe.

Fulke. You shall see the booke at our next meeting, and if you be able to shewe any such wordes, or matter either, I will lose my head. I may say, and haue said, that the Fathers had their errors, among which some allowed inuocation of Saintes, and yet holding the foundation, they may be saued.

Campion. Very well, that is al one: why should you the make so much a doe against inuocation of Saintes? Why doe you not say in your pulpits, that it is an indifferent matter?

Fulke. Because as you holde it, it is in verdee a blasphemous error: but as the Fathers helde it, it was no blasphemous error, but yet an error, and no indifferent thing.

Goade. Are you ignorant that they which hold the foundation, though they erre in some particular poyntes of doctrine, they may be saued? Shall enery particular point of error in doctrine depprue a man of saluation, holding soundly the foundation Christ?

Campion. Well, hee sayeth it in his booke, &c. If a man haue onely faith, it maketh no matter what errors he holde beside.

Fulke. You shamefully slander my booke, and I knowe you can shewe no such thing out of my booke. Nowe you haue graunted so many absurdities, ye knowe not howe to make by the matter, but by slandering my booke.

Campion. I haue graunted no absurdities, but I will defend them, bying me the booke, and I will shewe it you. And thereupon I challenge you, you and I at Cambridge. Doctor, to trie it.

Fulke. Very well Sir, you shew your selfe according to your publike challenge, moze bold then wise: you that haue challenged all the Realme, no maruell if you challenge me.

Campion. I wil stand to my challenge, and here I challenge you to dispute with you at Cambridge, if you dare.

Fulke. It lieth not in mee to remoue you to Cambridge. I came hither vpon commandement at this time, ootherwise you are not the man whom I would chuse & take for to be mine aduersarie, if you were at libertie. There are twentie of your side, whom I would rather take if I should chuse mine equal, which make no such challenge. *Non tibi plus cordis, sed minus oris inest.*

Goade. Your Church denyeth an article of faith: Ergo it is. 9. Argument.

teeth, &c.

The second dayes

Campion. God forbid, it doeth not.

Goade. You denie the bodily ascension of Christ into heauen:
Ergo an article of faith.

Campion. We do not deny it.

Goade. You deny that he is bodily in heauen, for you say that he is bodily in earth: but he can not be both in heauen and earth at once, if he haue a true bodie.

Campion. I deny your argument. For he is, and may bee in many places at once, touching his body.

Goade. It is contrary to the nature of a true bodie, to bee in many places at once. For a true naturall body, must haue the properties of a very naturall and true body, and so you make Christ to haue a phantasticall and not a true body. You say, at the same time he is in earth, and in heauen. Saint Augustine, confuting the like error of those that denied that Christ had a true body, sayth:

Ad Dard. Epist. 57. Cauendum ne ita diuinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus. We must beware that wee doe not so mayntaine the diuinitie of Christ, that wee take away the true nature of a body. *Iesus Christus ubique est per id quod Deus est, in celo autem per id quod homo, &c.* Iesus Christ is present euery where,

according to his Godhead, but he is in heauen according to his manhoode. And in Ioh. tractatu 3. *Corpus Domini in quo resurrexit, non tantum loco esse potest: veritas autem eius ubique diffusa est, &c.* The body of Christ wherein hee rose againe from the dead, can be onely in one place: but the trueth of Christ is spread euery where.

Campion. All this is true according to nature, but in the sacrament it is a miracle.

Goade. Augustine denieth any miracle to bee in the Sacraments: therefore you can not flee to miracle. The very wordes I now remember not, but I am sure I haue read it to that effect.

Fulke. His wordes are as I thinke, *Sacramenta honorem uel religiosa habere possunt, stuporam uel mira habere non possunt.* Our Sacraments may haue reuerence as things religious & holy, but they can not be wondered at, as things straunge & miraculous.

Goade. Peter saith Act. 3. Whome the heauens must holde till the restoration of all things.

Campion. What, will you make him a prisoner now in hea-

uent

uent must be bound to those properties of a naturall body: Heauen is his palace, and you would make it his prison.

Goade. They are the wordes of the holy Ghost, Whom the heauens must containe vntill, &c. It becommeth not you so to test at them, and specially considering your state, being a prisoner: ye shoulde not so play with the worde of God. I see nowe, the modestie I heard reported to be in you, is cleane contrary. I woulde to God you would make more conscience in speaking more reuerently of such Diuine matters.

Campion. I am a prisoner for religion. But touching Christ his bodie, why I pray you, might not that same naturall bodie, which by nature being heaue, and yet ascended upward stepp by stepp, and pearced those thicke Chystall heaucns which are harder then any chystal, walked vpon the waters, and came thorow the dooze being shutte, why, may not the same body likewise be in many places at once?

A fancie in philosophie.

Fulke. It were a hard matter for you to proue, that the heauens are harder then Chystal.

Campion. I can proue it.

Goade. The text doeth not saye, that hee came thorow the doozes being shut, but hee came when the doozes were shutte, the doozes by his diuine power giuing place to his bodie, as the bra-

Act. 5. 19. 12. 10.

sen gates in the Actes did vnto Peter of their owne accorde. Besides, these other thinges you speake of, they were extraordinarie workes, &c.

Camp. The text is plaine, that he came in by a great miracle.

Fulke. First, there is no worde in the text to enforce a miracle, notwithstanding I am content to graunt that he came in miraculously: which myght bee, eyther the doozes opening of their owne accorde vnto him, as was saide they did vnto Peter, or by giuing place vnto his diuine power.

Camp. If he neither came thorow the doozes, nor wrought a miracle, howe came he in? Belike he played some iugling trick.

Fulke. That is a vile blasphemie. It appeareth you haue great reuerence of Christ, that speake so blasphemously of him, and beare no more reuerence to his holy word.

Campion. Why, what would you call it? if it were not a miracle, it must be some such thing.

Here it appeared that many were offended with the indignitie thereof.

Fulke,

The second dayes conference.

Fulke. It might be a miracle, though he came not thorow the doore, for he came after the doores were shutte. Is it a necessarie consequence, to say, such a one came in after the doores were shut: Ergo he came thorow the doores? What tempus is the verbe?

Camp. I thinke it be the Aoriste.

Fulke. The word is, *καταεισελην*. I pray you what tempus is it? Campion. The perfect tempus, even as *clausis* the Latine worde is.

Fulke. But you did English it before, the doores being shut, which is the present tempus.

Campion. You know it is the phrase of our English speech.

Fulke. Our English phrase will beare as wel, after þ doores were shut.

Here Master Lieutenaunt shewed them the time was past, and so they left off.

William Fulke.
Roger Goade.



A remembrance of

the conference had in the tower
with Edmund Campion Iesuite, by William
Fulke and Roger Goade Doctors in Diuinitie,
the 23. of September, 1581. as followeth.

The assertions of Campion were these.

1. Christ is in the blessed Sacrament substantially, The questions
very God and very man, in his naturall body.

The 2. After the wordes of consecration, the bread
and wine are transubstantiated into the body and
blood of Christ.



THE Master Lieutenante in a short and
pithie speache, exhorted Campion to
consider what great fauour her Maie-
tie shewed him, that hee might haue
conference with the learned to reforme
his errours, when they shoulde be
playnely conuincied out of the wordes of
God, &c.

Campion. I do acknowledge, that
I am beholdinge to her Maiestie. If she haue appoynted this con-
ference to instruct me, thinking me to be out of the way, I can not
but be thankfull to her Maiestie for the same. Yet I protest (be-
ing resolute in my conference) that I come not with my minde so
suspended as to doubt of my cause, but my intent is to doe you
good: as you would instruct me, so would I instruct you: as you
would aduise me, so would I aduise you. Therefore take my in-
tent in good part, as I would do yours, I come to giue an accou-
nt of my faith, I am not vncertaine, This said he crossed himselfe af-
ter his superstitious maner.

Fulke. Let vs begin with prayer. O eternall and most mer-
cifull God, we humbly thanke thy Maiestie, that thou hast lighte-
ned our mindes with the knowledge of thy truth, we heartily be-
leeue thee, to confirme & encrease our faith alwayes in the same,

D.I.

and

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and at this time graunt, that we may so defende the truth, that thou mayest haue the glory, the obstinate heretike may be confounded, the weak may be strengthened, & we al may be edified in Iesus Christ, though to some we make our prayers, and to whome with thee and the holy Ghost the Spirit of truth, be all honour and glory, Amen.

Here M. Lieutenant was content, that any learned man present might moderate, but none would take it vpon them.

We are earnestly moued, because of the confusion the other day, that it might be auoyded now, to desire that we might haue some Moderator, if we might intreate any of these learned men that are present to take the paynes: other wise, that it might please Master Lieutenant when one argument is done, to commaunde vs to go to another; And also when we haue accepted an answer, not to suffer the aduersarie to carie the matter with multitude of wordes: so that we be neither forced to leaue our argument, as though we could followe it no longer, nor the aduersarie permitted with large discourses to spend the time vnprofitably contrary to the right meaning of this conference.

But before we enter into the matters appoynted, wee haue to discharge our credite for the authoritie of the Fathers, whom we alledged the last day in the afternoon when wee had no the bookes ready to shewe; because the question was then vpon the Inuocaine both chosen and disputed vpon, all within the houre: whereupon we promised to bring the bookes as this day, because the aduersarie would not receive our allegations written in our note bookes, some of them made then & since verely agree, not to deceiue the Papistes, but to helpe our owne conscience. The first place that I haue to shewe, is out of Saint Augustine, *Baptismo contra Donatistas lib. 2. cap. 2. Quid autem in scriptis*, as before in the first dayes conference.

Camp. You might haue spared this labour, for of this place I do not doubt, my answer was, *vt. vi. supra.*

Fulke. We haue your answer: let vs haue no repetition.

Campion. The greatest matter that was doubted of, was the decree of Innocentius concerning the communicating of infants, the second Councill of Nice, and the prayer at the latter end of euery Councill. You must proue these three to be erroneous.

Fulke. I haue proued them already: I am nowe onely to shew that the bookes themselves agree with my written notes. I doubt not

haue

conference.

haue shewed you them all in order, though you had not put me in minde. The decree of Innocentius cited by Saint Augustine contra 2. epist. Pelag. ad Bonifacium lib. 2. cap. 4. *Hac enim eius verba sunt, &c. ut supra.* These are the wordes of Innocentius; concerning the communicating of infants. S. Augustines wordes vpon the same are these, *Ecce beata memoria Innocentius, &c.* Behold Innocentius of blessed memorie, &c.

Campion. This is plaine, I will answere you.

Fulke. We haue your answere.

Campion. You read not so much afore.

Fulke. I haue read no more now then I did before out of my note booke.

Campion. Mine answere is, to deny that Innocentius maketh it necessary for infants to communicate.

Fulke. We haue your answere before, I come onely to discharge my credite for alleaging the booke truely.

Camp. Mine answere was, that it was neuer simply necessary, but necessary according to the practise of the Church.

Fulke. What neede these repetitions?

Camp. I must declare mine answere.

Fulke. We haue it already.

Campion. You come to appole me, as if I were a scholler in the Grammar schoole.

Fulke. You thinke by multitude of wordes to carry away the matter: but you shall haue no such scope, as you had the last daye.

Campion. You are very imperious. I trust, I answered you sufficiently the last day.

Fulke. The other day when wee had some hope of your conversion, we forbore you much, and suffered you to discourse, contrary to the order of any good conference, whereupon it hath bene giuen out by some of your sect, that you had the best part, because you had the most wordes. And therefore, now that we see you are an obstinate heretike, and seeke to couer the light of the truth with multitude of wordes, we meane not to allow you such large discourses, nor to forbear you, as we did.

Campion. You are very imperious to day, whatsoeuer the matter is. My answere I am sure was sufficient, to any thing you

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could bring, you neede not to be so imperious: I am the Queenes prisoner, and none of yours.

Fulke. Not a whit imperious, though I will exact of you to keepe the right order of disputation. What your answers were the last day, it is well known to so many lawfull witnesses as were present: beside, they are registred out of your mouth: they were euen such as are like to proceede from a Fryer, full of impudencie and garrulitie.

Campion. Well, I must beare this at your hand, and much more. You charge me with multitude of wordes: may I not adde vnto my answer?

Fulke. We haue heard your answer before: we are not now to dispute the matter againe, but to deliuer our credite for the allegations.

Campion. Goe forwarde then.

Fulke. This was the second. Of the forme of prayer after the Council, which is this: *Te in nostris principijs &c. ut errori indulgeas, &c.* We beseech thee in these our beginnings &c. that thou wilt pardon our errour. And againe, *Et quia conscientia remordente tabescimus, ne aut ignorantia nos traxerit in errorem, &c.* And because our owne consciences accusing vs, we doe saynt, least either ignorance hath drawen vs into errour, &c. As was alleadged in the first dayes conference.

Camp. Where you inferre, that the Council asked forgiveness of their erroneous decree: they meant not any errour of doctrine, but of wordes whatsoeuer had bene spoken against the decree, before the determination of the Council: as, many wordes might be before vsed, which after the Councils determination, it was not lawfull to vse.

Fulke. They feare least ignorance might haue drawen them into error, or headlong Will driuen them to decline from Justice & therefore they desired pardon, euen for their erroneous & vniust determinatiōs, if any were: which were needeles, if none could be.

Camp. I say, they prayed for those that before the determination of the decree were in errour, or for those that spoke against the decree before it was concluded: as, when thinges are disputed of doubtfully, many things are spoken amisse: as, if any wordes be spoken here, to conuert an other. &c.

Goade.

Goode: You are full of simplicity; and as enill you apply
them. It is well that you make no more ado about of general Coun-
cils: for by your simplicity, you make a goodly Council: no bet-
ter then this meeting.

Campion: I doe not make this and a generall Council a
like.

Fiske. The next place was cited out of the second Council of
Nice, which decreeth that Angels and soules of mē, haue bodies;
are visible, are circumscribable. *Actio 1. Sanctus dicit de An-
gelis: Et*

Campion. Let me haue the booke.

Fiske. You shall haue it when I haue read the place. *De An-
gelis: Et*

*Archangelis et eorum potestatibus, quibus et nostras ani-
mas adiungat; ipsa Catholice Ecclesia sentit, esse quidem intelligibiles
sed non omnino corporis expertes et inuisibiles; et hoc Genesius dicit
his: verum tenui corpore praeditos et aërio finit; nobis scriptum est,
Qui facit Angelos suos spiritus et ministros eius ignem videntem: sic
autem multos sanctorum patrum sensisse cognouimus. Quoru est Ba-
siliius cognominato Adignus, et Beatus Athanasius, et Asterodius, et
qui sunt ab illis. Soluimus de autē Deo, ubi purius, et informabi-
lis. Intelligibiles autem creaturae non quiaquam ex eis sunt incorpo-
reae et inimitabiles. Pictura existunt, quare omnia autem existunt, et
circumferentiam habent. Quamquam autem non sunt et nos corpo-
rea, utpote ex quatuor elementis, et crassa illa materia: nemo tamen
vel Angelos, vel demones vel animas dixerit incorporeas. Multos
enī in proprio corpore visi sunt, sed ab illis, quibus non demones oculos ape-
ruit. Nos igitur eos non ut Deos, sed ut creaturas intelligibiles et mi-
nistros Dei, non tamē ut vere incorporeos, pingimus et colimus. Quod
autē hominis formae pingatur in causa est, quod in ea visi sunt, si quā-
do ministerii Dei apud homines obierint. Thanasius sanctiss. Patriar-
cha dixit, Animaduertamus dictū patris, quod illi, Sacerdotes ima-
gines Domini et seruatores nostri seculi interemeratū vultu matris sub-
uerterunt. hic vero, Gentiles. Ostendit autem pater quod et Ange-
los pingere oportet quando circumscribi possunt, et ut homines appa-
uerint. Sacra Synodus dixit, Ethas domine. Concerning An-
gels and Archangels, and the powers of them, vnto whom also
I adioyne our soules, the Catholike Church her selfe doeth so
thinke, that they are in deede intelligible, but not altogether*

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voide of bodies and inuisible as your Gentiles do say: but that they haue a thine bodie; either of ayre or of fyre, as it is written, Which maketh him Angels spirits, and his ministers: burning fire. And so we haue knowen that many of our holy fathers haue thought among whom with Basil, Irenaeus, the great, and blessed Athanasius and Methodius, and them that stande with them. Only God is without body and shape: but the intelligible creatures are not also without bodies, and they are such as may be portrayed in picture. Wherefore they are imaged also, and haue a circumscription although they be not bodily as we are, as of the foure elementes, and that grosse matter. Yet no man may say that Angels, or deuils, or soules are without bodies, for they haue bene often seene in their proper bodies: but of them, to whom the Lord hath opened their eyes. Therefore we do paint and worship them: not as God, but as intelligible creatures and the ministers of God, but yet not as truly being without body. But that they are painted in the shape of man, the cause is, that they haue bene seene in that shape, if at any time they did execute the ministerie of God amongst men. Iherasius the most holy Patriarch saide, Let vs marke the saying of the father, that there, the Samaritans did ouerthrowe the images of our Lord and Saviour, and also of his vndefiled mother: but here, the Gentiles. The father also sheweth, that wee ought to paint the Angels, seeing they may be circumscribed, and haue appeared as men. The holy Synode said, Yea, my Lord.

Comp. You haue answered your selfe.

Fulke. That is your common answer, when you can cōpne no better.

Comp. I answered then, and so do now: *Assumunt corpora.* They take bodies vpon them, they haue none of their owne.

Fulke. He saith, they may be circumscribed.

Comp. That is, they may be painted.

Fulke. Nay, he saith plainly, they are not. *Expertes corporis,* voide of bodie, and desyneth at what bodily matter they consist, namely, of ayre or fyre, and so, that he alledgeth the scripture: also he saith, they are not inuisible.

Comp. Looke in what bodies they haue appeared, in such they may be painted: they did appeare as men, they bee not men, neither

neither haue they bodie of cheir own: which flane of hell with

Fulke. He sayth expelly, they haue bene seene in theirown
wopen body. in all agies to gried sheweth because he himselfe

Campio. The iudgement of the Councill is that the An-
gels may be punished: that is allowinge, as I shall saye, whole

Fulke. That is not all: for it is a wittnes that they are eternall
scripible and visible, as I said before. and to hange theirown

Campio. You haue proued many of theirown wittnes
Fulke. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes

theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Camp. It is no matter. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes

Fulke. Yes, it is a matter when theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes

Camp. You should haue brought it. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes

Fulke. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Camp. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Fulke. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Camp. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Fulke. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Camp. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Fulke. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Camp. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Fulke. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Camp. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Fulke. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

Camp. Theirown wittnes is brought by theirown wittnes. Theirown wittnes

conference.

not maintained and practised by the Papistes: but your accusation of my booke was written, therefore you can not alter it.

Camp. Lend me your booke, that I may charge you. The booke being deliuered, after a litle turning he sayde, This is not the booke that I meant.

Fulke. This is the booke that you named.

Camp. I meant your answer vnto Doctor Allens articles, because Brislow hath confuted it.

Fulk. This is a pooze shift, whē you haue slandered my booke, and named one, to flie to another: so would you do with that booke you name now. For I am sure, that neither in that, nor any other that euer I wrote, your slander can be founde.

Goad. There is an other thing ye were desirous to see, touching the Council of Constantinople, and the Council of Nice, one of them being alleaged to be contrary to the other about setting vp of Images in the Church: the Council of Constantinople disallowing Images, and the second Council of Nice allowing them, and condemning the other Council as erroneous.

Camp. That of Constantinople, was not a generall nor lawfull Council, but a certaine Iconomachy, and may rather be called a conuenticle then a generall Council, and therefore no contrarietie hereby proued betweene generall Councils.

Goad. It appeareth it was generall, and solemnely gathered in the chiefe citie. Heare the wordes in the title of the Council: *Sancta magna & vniuersalis Synodus que iuxta gratiam Dei, & per Concil. To. 3. pium deuotorum & orthodoxorum nostrorum Imperatorum Constantini & Leonis decretum, in hac diuinorum studiosa & regia ciuitate congregata est, &c.* The holy, great and vniuersall Synode which by the grace of God and the godly decree of our godly Emperours Constantine and Leo, is gathered in this holy and royall citie. This Council did confute by the Scriptures, the setting vp of Images in the Church, out of Deut. 20, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any Image nor likenes of any thing, &c. and Deut. 4. For which cause (saith this Council) you heard the voyce of wordes in the midst of the fire, but you sawe no image. Contrary to this, the Council of Nice doth accurse those that will not worship images, in these words: *Qui venerandas imagines non venerantur, Anathema.* Accursed be they that worship not holy images.

So it appeareth that these two Councils were contrary, and therefore

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therefore one of them diuerse. But I will proceede to the next place. Doubtles also, whether it were to be founde in Saint Augustine, that there is no Miracle in the Sacrament. Now you may heare his owne wordes. To 3. De Trinitate lib. 3. cap. 10. *Sicut panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo Sacramente consumitur. Sed quia haec hominibus nota sunt quia per homines fiunt, honorem tanquam religiosa passio habens stuporem tanquam mira non possunt.* As the bread ordained for this purpose, is consumed in receauing the Sacrament. But because theſe things are knowen vnto men, & are done by men, they may haue honour or reuerence as holy things, but they cannot be wondered at as things strange and miraculous. Here you haue Augustines words against miracle in the Sacrament.

Camp. In deede there is no such euident miracle visibly appearing, as when Christ cured y^e lame, the blinde, &c. but yet there is a great miracle which our faith doeth acknowledge.

Goado. Augustine speaketh simply against miracle: so that whether it be visible or inuisible, both is excluded. Beside, it is perpetuall in all miracles, that there must be some outward sensible signe. Further, you doubted of *Inherenti iustitia*, righteousness inherent in our selues, which I auouched to bee erroneous doctrine set forth in the late Council of Trent. The wordes are these, *Council. Trident. cap. 7. Verè iusti nominamur, & sumus iustitiam in nobis recipientes unusquisq; suam, secundam mensuram quam spiritus sanctus partitur singulis prout vult, secundum propriam cuiusque dispositionem & cooperationem.* Et cap. 16. *Qua quum iustitia nostra dicitur, quia per eam nobis inherenter iustificamur, illa eadem Dei est, quia a Deo nobis infunditur per Christi meritum.* We are called and in deede are truly righteous, receiuing in our selues euery man his own righteousness, according to the measure which the holy Ghost doth deuide to euery one euen as he wil, according to euery mans own proper disposition & cooperation. For that righteousness which is called ours, because we are iustified by it inherent in our selues, the selfe same is the righteousness of God, because it is powred into vs from God by the merit of Christ.

Camp. I did not doubt of inherent righteousness in our selues, whether it were in y^e Council of Trent, for I defend & mainteine it as the Council teacheth it: you saye it is by imputation of Christes

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Christes righteousness being without vs, whereby wee are justified: and I say, we are justified by that righteousness which is within vs, though it be not of vs.

Goade, The place which I urged against you the other day, beside many other in scripture, is directly against this doctrine, 2. Cor. 5. 21. He hath made him to be sin for vs which knewe no sinne, that we should be made the righteousness of God in him.

Fulke, Well, now we are to come to the question. You holde; that the natural body & blood of Christ is contained in the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper. Your wordes are, Christ is present in the Sacrament substantially, very God & man, in his natural body.

Camp. I say, there is really present in the Sacrament, the naturall body and blood of Christ under that bread and cup.

Fulke. What meane you by these wordes under the bread and cup, that we may agree of termes?

Camp. You knowe in the bread is whiteness, &c. that is not in his body. Make your argument.

Fulke, So I will.

The cup is not the naturall blood of Christ:

Ergo the other parte is not his naturall body.

Campion. There is present in the cup, the naturall blood of Christ. So to my wordes.

Fulke, Well,

The naturall blood of Christ is not present in the cup:

Ergo the naturall body is not present in the other part.

Camp. The naturall blood of Christ is present in the cup.

Fulke, Thus I disprove it.

The wordes of Christes institution be these,

This cup is the new testament in my blood.

But the naturall blood of Christ is not the newe testament in his blood:

Ergo the naturall blood of Christ is not in the cup.

Camp. The word, is, is neither in Hebrew, nor in Greeke.

Fulke. Very well, you shall see me finde it.

Campion. You must adde this worde,

Fulke. Nay, the worde is in Saint Paul: This cup is the newe testament in my blood.

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Camp.

Argu. I.

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Campion. The worde *is*, which is understood, is referred to the beginning of the sentence. *Hic est calix nouum testamentum in sanguine meo.* This is the cup, the new testament in my blood: he sayd not, this cup is the new testament.

Fulke. You peruert the wordes, you cannot shift it off so.

Campion. My text hath it so.

Fulke. It can not be so, you haue heard the Greeke, and your vulgar translation is according to the Greeke: *Hic calix nouum testamentum est in meo sanguine.* 1. Cor. cap. 11.

Camp. No Sir, I was in hande with the 22. of Luke.

Fulke. Shall you appoint me my text? I say, my text is taken out of Saint Paul, I haue shewed *is* in the Greeke & Latin both.

Campion. It is referred to the beginning, *Hic est calix nouum testamentum.*

Fulke. The composition cannot admitte that peruersion, you would obscure the sense by disordering the wordes: but Saint Paul is a better interpreter of Saint Luke, in whom the verbe *is* lacketh, then your vulgar translation.

Campion. What do you inferre of these wordes?

Fulke. The cup is the newe testament:

But the naturall blood of Christ is not the newe testament:

Ergo the naturall blood of Christ is not the cup.

Camp. O. Doctor, this is your argument. The cup is the new testament, &c. I deny your argument.

Fulke. It is a syllogisme.

Campion. It is neither in mode, nor figure.

Fulke. It is in Baroco.

Camp. You take the cup otherwise in *p* Maior then in *p* conclusion. For when it is said, the cuppe is the new Testament, the meaning is, that in the cuppe, which is the blood of Christ, is the covenant of the newe Testament. In the conclusion you take the cuppe for the chalice, wherein the blood of Christ is.

Fulke. I take the cup for the same, in both. I speake & meane as the Apostle doeth. I take the cuppe for that which is in the cuppe: Therefore marke my argument againe.

The cup, or that which is in the cuppe, is the new Testament:

The naturall blood of Christ is not the newe Testament:

Ergo the naturall blood of Christ is not the cup, or that which is in

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in the cuppe. Answer to this Syllogisme.

Campion. It is no Syllogisme, there be *quatuor termini*.

Fulke. Well, I perceiue then, you can and were no other wise.

Campion. It is plaine taking the cup, for that in the cuppe.

Fulke. Master Lieutenant, you heare his answer. I will rest in the iudgement of those which know what a Syllogisme is.

Goade. I will propounde an other argument. You say that Christ is present in the Sacrament substantially, very God and man in his naturall bodie, which I impute thus.

Looke howe Christ was present to the Fathers in the wilderness in Manna, and in the rocke, euen so he is present to vs in our Sacrament: 2. Argumēt

But he was not present to them in their Sacrament in his naturall bodie:

Therefore he is not in his naturall bodie present in our Sacrament.

Camp. I denie your Maior or first proposition.

Goade. I proue it thus. They receiued in their Sacrament the same substance that wee doe: Therefore they had the same presence.

Campion. I denie your Antecedent.

Goade. I proue it out of the plaine wordes of the Apostle, 1. Cor. 10. 3. *Et omnes eandem escam*, &c. speaking of our fathers the Israelites, he sayth, And did all eate the same spiritual meate, and did all drinke the same spirituall drinke: for they dranke of the spirituall rocke that followed them, & the rocke was Christ.

Campion. They did eate *eandem escam spiritualem*, the same spirituall grace, but not the same substance.

Goade. They receiued the same that we doe touching the substance: you cannot so auoyde the force of this place. Spirituall is added in respect of the corporall signes, which differ betwene them and vs, as shall after appeare, but the same spirituall substance in both, as the circumstance of that place enforceth.

Camp. Why, Christ had yet receiued no substance of fleshe, and therefore could not then be present to them substantially in his naturall bodie.

Goade. You reason well for mee. Therefore he was present vnto them spirituallly, as the wordes are, *eandem escam spiritualem*.

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lem: And so he is to vs present, and not carnally, because Christ had not then taken flesh, and the Fathers did then eate Christ in substance as well as we, therefore the presence and eating in both, must needs be spirituall.

Camp. I answere they had the same in a mysterie and figure.

Goade. This is no answere. I will easily take it away both by the wordes following in the text, and also by the manifest circumstance of the place, both which proueth to be clerely the same in substance. They had the same Christ, who is the substance of our Sacraments: ergo the same substance that we haue.

Camp. They had not the same Christ in substance, in their Sacrament.

Goade. The wordes following are plaine to expostid the Apostles meaning: *Et omnes eundem potum biberunt. &c. Petra autem erat Christus.* They did all drinke the same spirituall drinke, for they drunke of the spirituall rocke that followed them, which rocke was Christ: Therefore they eating and drinking the same Christ, did eate and drinke the same substance.

Campion. There is a fallation in the worde, *eandem*, the same. In a mystery and in signification the same, but in substance great difference.

Goade. The difference was onely in the outward signes, the measure of reuelation, and in time, they beleeuing on Christ to come, and we in Christ that is come: but in matter and substance the very same. And that the Apostles meaning must needs be so, I will now manifestly proue out of the circumstance of this text, and out of the Apostles owne argument. His purpose is to proue that the Israelites were nothing inferior to the Corinthians, touching the seales of Sacramentes of Gods fauour: and therefore the Corinthians had no more to boaste in touching their Sacramentes, then the Israelites had. Whereupon he sayeth they did eate the same meate &c. ergo they were equall. Nowe if they eate not the same in substance, which the Corinthians did eate, but onely in shadow & figure (as you say) then the Israelites were much inferior to the Corinthians in their sacraments, and so ye would make the Apostles argument of no force.

Campion. The Apostles meaning is, that the old Israelites beleue

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beleueed in the same Christ, and did eate him after a sort, as we doe: they were not altogether equall, for he speaketh a litle before of Baptisme, saying, that they were baptized in the cloude, this was not the same with our baptisme.

Goade. In deede the outward signe differed, as I said before: namely, the matter cloude from our water in Baptisme, but in matter and substance it was a signe of the same inuisible grace. And so the Apostle proueth the Israelites equall to the Corinthians, and consequently to vs in both the sacraments.

Campion. Abraham beleueed in the same Christ, yet Christ was not then incarnate to Abraham, as he is now to vs, &c.

Goade. To what purpose is this? What doeth it helpe you? doeth it not rather confirme that I said to be true, the same in substance, the same Christ before & now, the difference to be in time? These are your olde excursions, when you can not answer the argument. But now, after I haue proued the same substance (which you denied) first by the plaine wordes, & then by the euident circumstance and drift of the text, I will yet further bige this argument by the iudgement of Saint Augustine, tom. 9, in Ioh. tract. 26, *Sacramenta illa fuerunt in signis diuersa, sed in re qua significatur, paria sunt. Apostolum audi. Omnes eandem escam spiritualem manducauerunt, spiritualem utique eandem: Nam corporalem alteram, quia illi Manna, nos aliud: spiritualem vero quam nos.* Those Sacraments were in signes diuers, but in the thing signified are equall. Heare what the Apostle sayeth. All did eate the same spirituall meate: in deede the same meate spirituall. For touching the corporall meate they did eate one, & we another, but they did eate the same spirituall meate that we doe.

Camp. You must proue out of Augustine, that they did eate the same Christ.

Goade. That hath bene already plainly proued out of the text, They dranke of the rocke, &c. the rocke was Christ. But you shall haue it proued also out of Augustine, who expounding the Apostles wordes, sayth, they did eate the same spiritual meate that we do eate.

Camp. He meaneth, the same in effect.

Goade. Augustines wordes are plaine, not the same in effect, but in substance and matter. *In signis diuersa, sed in re paria.* Those Sacraments

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Sacraments in matter or thing signified are equal: He maketh difference in the signes, but none at all in the thing. *Re paria*: the same thing of substance in both, therefore the same Christ.

Campion. The same Christ was to them incarnate in hope and effect, as the Lambe is said to be flaine from the beginning of the world: but Christ in deede was not yet incarnate.

Goade. True it is, that touching the purpose and rounde of God, and the efficacie of Christes deatch in all ages, the Lambe Christ was flaine from the beginning. But what is this to mine argument out of Augustine? The difference of time is no matter, they eate the same thing, they did eate *Sacramenta re paria*, sayth Augustine. And in his treatise de vtilitate poenitentiae, Tom. 9. he proueth verie plainly, the same Christ and the same substance to be in the Israelites sacrament, and in ours.

Campion. Reade the place.

Goade *Eundem inquit cibum spiritualem manducauerunt: quid est eundē, nisi quia eum quem etiam nos? Sufferas ut diceres, cibum spiritualem manducauerunt: eundem inquit: eundem non inuenio quomodo intelligam, nisi eum quem manducamus & nos. Quid ergo ait aliquis, Hoc erat Manna illud, quod ego nunc accipio: Ergo nihil modo venit, si ante iam fuit: ergo euacuatum est scandalum crucis. Quomodo ergo eundem, nisi quia addidit spiritualem? Nam qui Manna illud sic acceperunt, ut tantummodo indigentia sua corporali satisfieri putarent, & ventrem suum pasci, non mentem: nihil magnum manducauerunt. Quicquid, in Manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem quem nos cibum spiritualem manducauerunt. Sic etiam eundem potum quem nos, sed spiritualem, id est, qui fide*

Some of these wordes were then omitted, & not read for breuitie sake.

capiebatur, non qui corpore hauriebatur. Audiisti eundem potum, petra erat Christus. Non enim alter Christus tunc, alter nunc. Tunc enim Christus venturus, modo Christus venit. Venturus & venit, diuersa verba sunt, sed idem Christus. He sayth they did eate the same spiritual meate. What is the same, but the same that we also eate? It might haue sufficed to saye, they did eate spirituall meate, but he sayth, the same. I do not find how to vnderstand this worde, the same, but the same which we also do eate. Then may some say, What, was Manna the same which I now receiue, then doth nothing come now, but that which was before? then

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then the offence of the crosse is become voide: howe then can it be true that he sayeth, the same, but that he addeth spirituall? For they that did receiue Manna in such sort, that they thought thereby to saue onely their corporall necessitie, and to feede their belly and not their minde, did eate no great thing. Whosoever in Manna did vnderstand Christ, did eate the same spirituall meate that we doe, and also receiued the same drinke that we doe, but spirituall, that is, which was receiued by faith, and not by the body. Thou hast heard that it is the same drinke, the rocke was Christ. For there was not one Christ then, and another now: for then Christ was to come, now he is come. To come, and is come, be diuers wordes, but the same Christ. You heare howe Augustine, as it were of purpose, often ingeth the worde, *eundem*, the same meate. And afterwarde explaneth it to be the same Christ in their Sacraments and ours, and notwithstanding the difference in time, yet the same in substance.

Campion. I graunt to be the same Christ, as I sayde before, touching the effect and deede, slaine to them in hope, but to vs in deede: they had the same touching the fruite and effect, and so S. Augustine is to be vnderstoode.

Goade. Your answer is moze absurde then some other writers of your side. For they distinguish, though very corruptly, *Sacramenta veterum sub lege tantum figurabant, nostra autem conferunt gratiam*. The Sacraments of the fathers vnder the lawe did onely figure, but ours do conferre and giue grace.

Campion. This is mine answer: the same in effect and end, touching saluation. If you can say no moze, ye may go to another argument.

Goade. Your answer is taken away, and can stand neither with the text of the Apostle, nor yet with Saint Augustines iudgement. Beside, it is manifest you would confound those things, which of their owne nature must needs be distinguished, namely the thing it selfe, and the effect, end, or fruite that commeth thereof. For the effect being saluation, is the fruite that followeth the spirituall eating of Christ being the thing it selfe or substance: whom whosoever first eateth not, can not be partaker of the fruite that followeth.

Camp. You haue not, neither can take away mine answer.

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The same I say till, in effect & end, but not equal in the thing signified. As, a man may be sicke to day, and to morrowe whole: the same man, but not the same in substance of his body and blood.

Goade. Well, seeing you haue none other answer, I will leaue this argument, and commit it to the iudgement of the learned to iudge of your answer.

Fulke. Thus I wil proue, that Christ is not present in his naturall body in the Sacrament.

3. Argument.

Whatsoever is in the sacrament, is void of sense, or insensible:

But Christ is not insensible:

Ergo Christ is not in the Sacrament.

Camp. Your maior and your minor are both untrue in some sense.

Fulke. This is your olde shift, to trouble the hearers vnderstanding, with prooffe of both partes, that you might not be espied in the point of controuersie.

Campion. That you say vnsensible, it is true, if you meane the spirituall grace, which is not subiect to sense.

Fulke. I meane by insensible, boyde of life or sense.

Campion. Then I deny your maior.

Fulke. I proue it out of Epiphanius. lib. Anchorato,

Campion. Reade the place.

Fulke. The wordes be these. ἱερὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἑλαβεν ὁ πατήρ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας:

ἀλλ', οἱ ἔχει ἐν τῷ θιαγῶνι ὅτι αὐτῇ ἐν τῷ θείῳ, καὶ ἔλαβε τὰδε. καὶ διχαρισθῆναι εἶπεν, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸδε. καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ οὐκ ἴσιν ἱστῶν, οὐδὲ ὁμοίον, ἢ τῷ ἐν σάρκι εἶπεν, οὐ τῷ ἀσώτῳ θείῳ πνεύματι, οὐ τοῖς χαριστικῶν τῶν μυστηρίων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ σπυριτοειδὲς καὶ αὐτοθεῖον, οἷς ἁπλοῦς τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἁπλοῦς ἡ χάρις, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸδε, καὶ οὐδέ τις ἀνίσταται, &c.

Campion. What worde builde you vpon?

Fulke. I haue read the wordes, where he saith it is insensible, if you vnderstand it.

Campion. You might haue brought the Latine booke.

Fulke. Then you would haue cauiled, that it was not rightly translated: but you were best confesse your ignorance.

Campion. I pray you helpe me.

Fulke. If you vnderstand it your selfe, I neede not.

Campion. I vnderstande Latine better then Greeke. Yet I trust I haue Greeke ynough to answer you withall. Reade it in Latine.

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Fulke. May, I will reade it in English, that other men may understand it as well as you. For we see what our father tooke in his hands, as it is contained in the Gospel, that he arose at supper, and tooke these things. And after he had giuen thanks, he sayd, This of me is that. And we see that it is not equal, nor like, neither to the incarnate image, nor to the inuisible deitie, nor to the lineaments of his members: For this thing is of long shape, or rowle fashion, and voyde of sense, as concerning power. And yet he would say through grace, This of mine is that, and no man doeth discredit the saying.

Camp. You lose time: we should not credit our eyes, but faith. What haue you gotten by this place? Epiphanius saith none must discredit the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, because it is a long white thing.

Fulke. You vnderstand not the place.

Campion. The meaning is, we must not credite sense, but faith: you haue gained nothing by this place.

Fulke. Yes, more then you would willingly afford. First, that the sacramentall bread in y^e time, was not such a round thin cake, as you vse in your Masse, but a rowle of bread: Secondly, that the sacrament was not equal wth Christ: and thirdly, that it was an insensible thing, void of life, hauing not so much as y^e power of sense.

Campion. He sayeth that we should not credit our sight, but faith: we must beleuee Christ to be present.

Fulke. As Christ hath sayd and meaneth.

Campion. That which I see is voyde of sense, it is against your selfe, it teacheth vs to beleue faith.

Fulke. You know not y^e argument of the booke, nor of y^e place.

Campion. Yes, as well as you.

Fulke. Then shewe it afore this companie, you that will challenge the whole Church of England, and make profession of vniuersall knowledge.

Camp. I will answere any challenge I haue made.

Fulke. Yea, euen as you doe this. Shewe vs the argument which the Doctor handleth in this place, if you can.

Campion. I haue sayd, you are not able to replie.

Fulke. Yes if you will shewe the argument, I will replie.

Campion. You doe not.

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Fulke. I doe not, therefore I cannot? I wil first shew the argument of the place: he speaketh of images, and namely sheweth how man is made after Gods image, and yet is not equall with God, although Christ being the image of the Father, is equall with him. This he sheweth by example of the Sacrament, which is the image of Christ, in such sort as man is the image of God. For it is not equall with Christ, nor like unto him, either concerning his humanitie or deitie: but a mere insensible thing, as that which hath no power of life: whereas Christ is all sensible, all of power, all incomprehensible, concerning his Godhead.

Campion. Replie against mine answer, if you can. The exterior forme or colour which we see, is that which he sayth to be insensible.

Fulke. He speaketh not of colour, he speaketh of that which Christ calleth his body. Is the exterior forme called the body of Christ? Is the colour of bread the image of Christ? Epiphanius sayeth, that of which Christ spake, This is my body, is voyde of sense: Therefore he sayth the whole Sacrament, or whatsoever is contained in it, is insensible.

Campion. That is, Christ is not seene, but vnder the exterior forme or colour. For no substance can be seene. Are not you Doctor Fulke? and yet I see nothing but your colour and exterior forme. I wil abide by this, that substance of any thing can not be seene.

Fulke. I wil not vouchsafe to replie vpon this answer, too chisloish for a Sophister.

Camp. You are very imperious. You come I trowe, to pose me as a Grammer scholet, and to take me by with checke at your pleasure. I know no cause why I should take it at your handes: I am the Queenes prisoner, and not yours.

Fulke. I would you were the Queenes true subiect.

4. Argument.

Goade. Whatsoever is naturally present in the Sacrament, is beneath vpon earth:

But Christ touching his body is not beneath vpon earth:

Ergo Christ touching his body, is not naturally present in the Sacrament.

Campion. I deny your minor.

Goade. Christ touching his bodily presence is in heauen, and onely in heauen: therefore not vpon earth.

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Campion. I deny your Antecedent, it is partly true, & partly false, ordinarily he is in heauen, but miraculously his body also is in earth.

Goade. I will ease you of your distinction.

Christ is no way present on earth, touching his body:

Therefore neither ordinarily, nor yet miraculously. Answer to the argument briefly.

Campion. As briefe as you will. He is some way present vpon earth touching his body. I proue your antecedent.

Goade. I proue it thus.

If Christ touching his bodily presence, be any way present vpon earth, then he is to be sought vpon earth:

But he is not to be sought vpon earth:

Ergo no way present vpon earth.

Campion. I deny your Minor. He is some way to be sought vpon earth in the Sacrament, but not by his ordinarie presence.

Goade. Mine argument is against all distinction.

Campion. Will you not giue me leaue to distinguish?

Goade. I say, he is no way bodily present on earth, which utterly taketh away your distinction. And I proue it by 3 Apostles reason, Colos. 3. 1. *Si confidre xistis cum Christo, &c.* If ye be risen together with Christ, seeke those things that are aboue where Christ sitteth at the right hande of God, set your affection on heavenly things, and not vpon earthly things. The Apostle exhorteth vs to seeke things aboue, because Christ is in heauen touching his body, sitting at the right hand of God. If he be beneath on earth bodily any way, then the Apostles reason is nothing.

Campion. The Apostles meaning is, that Christ is not to be sought for now, in that sort as when he walked vpon earth.

Goade. This answer is taken away before. The Apostles true meaning is, to drawe them from mens traditions, and earthly ceremonies, by this reason, Because Christ is not beneath on earth touching his body.

Campion. He meaneth of all earthly things, and not of ceremonies.

Goade. That is but your coniecture, of ignorance or forgetfulness of the Apostles argument in the former chapter next going before.

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Camp. Is not Christ to be sought vpon earth? when I tooke into my Bible, doe I not seeke Christ?

Goade. I thinke you doe not truely seeke him.

Camp. Doe you?

Goade. I will not answer your wordes. Answer you mine argument, ye would go from the matter.

Camp. Your argument is nothing. If Christ be in heauen, I must not seeke him in earth.

Goade. It is the argument of the Apostle, and may thus be framed.

Our affection must there be set where Christ is, touching his body:

But Christ is in heauen alone touching his body, where he sitteth at the right hand of God:

Therefore our affection must be in heauen.

Camp. What is it to seeke Christ aboue? must I flie vp into heauen? it is our affection and cogitation that must be lift vp.

Goade. What is this to the argument, you answered not the Apostles reason, being framed into a Syllogisme.

Our affection must be where Christ is, touching his body:

But he is in heauen in his body, at the right hand of God:

Ergo there to be sought, and not vpon earth.

If Christ be any way vpon earth, the Apostles argument holdeth not: but contrariwise by the Apostles reason, earthly things were to be sought, if Christ be any way vpon earth touching his body.

Camp. I must not now seeke Christ in conuersion in Jerusalem: to seeke him in y^e Sacrament, is not to seeke him in earth.

Goade. But if he be on earth in the Sacrament (as you say) bodily, then he may be sought vpon earth, yea and earthly things also, which the Apostle denieth. There is a manifest opposition in the Apostles wordes betwene aboue and beneath, in heauen and in earth: ye may not confound these.

We must ascende thither where Christ is:

But he is aboue in heauen:

Therefore in minde we must ascende into heauen.

Campion. The drift of the Apostle is, we must ascende with Christ, we must die with Christ, in affection, and spiritually.

Goade.

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Goade. You neuer answer directly to the argument. It is contrary to the Apostles plaine wordes, and against the scope of his exhortation, that we shoulde seeke Christ beneath, as any way bodily present on earth.

Camp. Mine answer is, that according to his ordinarie presence he is aboue, but according to miracle, he is bodily vpon earth beneath.

Goade. Now ye flie againe to miracle: but this shift is taken away before. For if Christ bee any way bodily present on earth, though it be by miracle, then he is to be sought on earth, which the Apostle denicth. You heare his answer, this stone hath beene rowled enough.

Fulke. If Christ be present in his naturall body, he is present s. Argument.
in his true body:

But he is not present in his true body:

Ergo he is not present in his naturall.

Campion. I deny your Minor: he is present in his true body.

Fulke. If he be present in his true body, then wheresoeuer the Sacrament is, there is his true body:

But wheresoeuer \bar{h} Sacrament is, there is not his true body:

Ergo he is not present in his true body.

Campion. I proue your Minor: Wheresoeuer the Sacramēt is, there is his true body.

Fulke. Chrysostome denieth it in *cap. 5. Matth. Homilia 12. operis imperfecti: Sin vasa sanctificata ad priuatos vsus transferre peccatum est & periculum, sicut docet nos Balthasar, qui bibens in calicibus sacratis, de regno depositus & de vita. Si ergo hac vasa sanctificata in priuatos vsus transferre periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur, quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quae sibi Deus ad habitaculum preparauit, non debemus locum dare diabolo agendi in eis quae vult.* Here you see Chrysostome doth plainely deny the true body of Christ to be present in the holy vessels, in the which the mystrie or Sacrament thereof is contained.

Campion. Of al other Doctors he maketh most against you.

Fulke. He maketh nothing against vs for this question, in any place of his workes: but how answer you vnto this place?

Camp. I saye, where the naturall body of Christ is present,
there

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there is his true body present.

Fulke. But this Doctor saith cleane contrary, that in the holy vessels is conteyned the misterie of the body of Christ, but not the true body of Christ.

Camp. He speaketh of Balthasars vessels.

Fulke. Although he bringeth Balthasars example of abusing the holy vessels of the Jewes, to shewe howe dangerous it is to conuert holy things to priuate vses: yet he speaketh expressely of the holy vessels of the Christians, wherein was the misterie of the body of Christ.

Camp. The chalice may bee abused, after the true body of Christ is taken out of it, and that is a great fault to abuse it, when the body of Christ is not in it.

Fulke. Then he should say, *In quibus non erat*: but he saith, *In quibus non est*, In which the true body of Christ is not.

Campion. Hee talketh of all holy vessels, not onely of the chalice.

Fulke. I graunt he reasoneth from the lesse to the more: if it be dangerous to abuse all holy vessels, namely those, in which the true body of Christ is not, but the misterie thereof: howe much more perillous is it, to abuse the vessels of our body, wherein God dwelleth?

Campion. Doeth he say, that the body of Christ is not in the chalice?

Fulke. He saith it is in none of the vessels:

But the chalice is a vessell:

Ergo it is not in the chalice.

Campion. May not the holy vessels bee abused after masse is done: and so he meaneth that though the body of Christ be not in them when they are abused, yet it is an heinous fault to abuse the when the Sacrament is taken out.

Fulke. His wordes are plaine, that the true body of Christ is not in them, but the misterie of sacrament thereof.

For if it bee a sinne and daunger to transerre the sanctified vessels vnto priuate vses, as Balthasar doth teach vs, which drinking in the hallowed cuppes, was deposed from his kingdome, and from his life. Therefore if it be so daungerous to transerre vnto priuate vses these sanctified vessels, in which is not the true body

Here D. Fulke was admonished to rehearse the place in English, that the people might vnderstand.

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body of Christ, but a myserie of the body of Christ is contened: how much more the vessels of our body, which God hath prepared for a dwelling place to himselfe, ought wee not to yelde vnto the deuill, to doe in them what hee will. The place is so plaine, that no man can denie it: he sayeth the myserie of Christ is contained in the vessels, therefore hee speaketh not of the vessels when they are emptie, but when the sacrament is in them, which he denieth to be the true body of Christ.

Campion. The thing may bee abused after the true body of Christ be taken out, & yet there is a myserie there, because of the spirituall vse: the meaning is, you must not abuse the thing referred to holy vses, by the example of Balaazar, & therefore the myserie is alwayes there, when the vessels are emptie.

Fulke. A verie secret myserie in deede, that is in the empirie chalice. Well, well, I thinke that there is none so simple here, but he may see in what case you stand.

Campion. A myserie is not alwayes taken in one sense. Why may there not be a myserie of Christ in y emptie chalice? there is a myserie of Christ in euery thing. I woulde you might answer me a while to that I could bring out of Chrysostome.

Fulke. You are not allowed to oppose at this time, but I wil answer you in writing whatsoeuer you can bring. As for this matter, all men see how unable you are to answer. I could helpe you with a better answer my selfe.

Goade. If Christ be present in the sacrament in his naturall body, then his bodily presence must continue so long as the vse of the sacrament continueth, to the worldes ende:

6. Argument.

But Christ touching his bodily presence doeth not so continue:

Therefore Christ is not present in the sacrament in his naturall body.

Camp. Christ doeth, and so shall continue his bodily presence to the ende of the world.

Goade. Christ him selfe hath denied his bodily presence or continuance:

Therefore he shall not so continue.

Campion. I denie your antecedent.

Goade. Io. 16. vers. 28. I leaue the worlde and goe to the father. And Math. 26, 11. The poore ye shall haue alwayes with you, but me ye shall not haue alwayes.

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Camp. He meaneth, he will not be conuersant in the worlde as then he was, touching his outwarde conuersation, and poore estate: you shall not saith hee, haue me alwayes with you as you haue the poore. Here he was entring into a long tale.

Goade. I looked for this thitt before. I will take away your distinction, ye are too full of wordes, ye will not suffer me to goe on with mine argument: you are belike afraide.

It is spoken in respect of his bodily presence simpliciter.

Therefore not in respect of his poore estate.

Campion. I proue what you can; I deny your antecedent.

Goade. I proue it by Saint Augustine, expounding the same wordes of our Saviour Christ. *Tractat in Io. 50. Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, me autem non semper: loquebatur enim de presentia corporis sui. Nam secundum maiestatem suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem & invisibilem gratiam, impletur quod ab eo dictum est, Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem saeculi: secundum carnem quam verbum assumpsit, secundum id quod de virgine natus est & non semper habebitis vobiscum. Ascendit in cælum, & non est hic, ibi enim sedet ad dextra patris, & hic est, non enim recessit presentia maiestatis. Secundum presentiam maiestatis semper habemus Christum, secundum presentiam carnis, recte dictum est discipulis, Me autem non semper habebitis.* The poore ye shall haue alwaies with you, but me ye shal not haue alwaies: he spake this of the presence of his body. For according to his Maiestie, according to his providence, according to his vnspokeable & invisible grace, that is fulfilled which Christ saide, Lo I am with you to the end of the world: according to the flesh which the word tooke, according to that he was borne of the virgine, &c. you shall not (saith hee) haue me with you alwayes. He is ascended into heauen & is not here: for hee is there sitting at the right hand of the father. And he is here, for hee is not departed according to the presence of his maiestie. According to the presence of his maiestie, we haue Christ alwayes with vs: according to the presence of his flesh, it was well said to his disciples, But me you shal not haue alwayes. Augustine in his first wordes expoundeth this to be spoken of his bodily presence of Christ, simply.

Campion. It is spoken accordyng to his visible conuersation: I proue any thing against this.

Goade. Augustine excludeth all kinde of bodily presence:

Therefore

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Therefore it is not spoken according to his visible conuersation,
Camp. I denie your Antecedent.

Goad. Augustine acknowledgeth onely two kindes of presence of Christ: the one, the bodily presence of his flesh; the other, according to his maiestie, prouidence and inuisible grace. According to this latter kinde he sayth, Christ is present with vs: which he directly opposeth to his bodily presence. Therefore all kinde of bodily presence is excluded.

Campion. There is no contrarietie to that I said before. So Augustine excludeth not by maiestical presence al bodily presence. Make your Syllogisme, and I will answere you.

Goad. It is more then the vsuall order of disputation, to require a Syllogisme, when I am come to the issue of mine argument, namely to authoritie, as now we are come to Augustine: but I will follow your request: Doe you answere directly, Thus I make mine argument out of Augustines wordes, that Christ is now present with his Church touching his maiestie, and inuisible grace.

Therefore by no meanes touching his body.

Campion. I denie your argument.

Goad. Augustines wordes proueth it, making but two kindes of presence of Christ: namely, presence of maiestie, and presence of flesh; and opposeth the one against the other.

Camp. He speaketh not of Christ present in the Sacrament; but of his presence which euery Christian man may haue: hee speaketh according to *Subiectam materiam*, he excludeth not his naturall presence in the Sacrament.

Goad. You answere not the argument out of Augustine. But I will followe you, and proue that he excludeth the presence of Christes naturall body in the Sacrament.

Hee excludeth all presence, saue that by his maiestie, prouidence, and grace:

Ergo he excludeth the presence of Christes naturall body in the Sacrament.

Camp. To your Antecedent I answere: he excludeth all ordinary presence by outward conuersation, & sheweth how Christ is present with euery Christian by his spirit and grace: he speaketh not of his presence in the Sacrament.

Goad. He speaketh generally, excluding all bodily presence.

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Therefore aswell in the Sacrament, as without.

Camp. He speaketh generally, *quoad subiectam materiam*, according to the matter that he had in hand.

Goad. You answered not \S argument. Thus I hyge it briefly. Christ is nowe present with his Church, only touching his spirit and grace:

Ergo he is no way present touching his body.

His argument you see is grounded vpon Augustines plaine wordes, opposing the one presence to the other, *Secundum presentiam maiestatis, semper habemus Christum, &c.*

Campion. He compareth these two together, how he was present to his Apostles, and how to vs: he saitheth generally of an diuine presence, as euery mā may haue Christ present by prayer, &c.

Goad. And he maketh Christ present to vs none other way but by his maiestie, and inuisible grace: and touching all presence of his flesh, saith it is true, we ye shall not haue alwaies. I pray you, would or durst Augustine so haue written in so plaine wordes absolutely to allow only of Christs presence by his grace, denying that touching his bodily presence we should not alwayes haue him wth vs, if Christ any way were still bodily present vpon earth?

Camp. Yea, I warrant you, being rightly understood. For he opposeth his presence then, and his presence nowe, not any more according to visible conuersation. And so your argument ye would make out of Augustine, is not good.

Goad. You vse not to answer the point of the argument, but your maner is to holde you stil to one shifting distinction, though it be often taken away. Your kinde of answering is not onely against learning, but against common sense,

Argument 7.

Fulke. I will take another argument.

If Christ be present in the sacrament in his naturall body, he is present in trueth and in deede, not onely in a signifying misterie:

But he is not present in the sacrament in trueth and in deede, but onely in a signifying misterie:

Ergo he is not present in his naturall body.

Camp. I denie your Minor: he is present in \S truth of his body.

Fulke. I proue it out of the Canon Lawe. *De Consecratione Distinct. 2. cap. Hoc est. Sicut ergo celestis panis qui Christi caro est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum reuerasit sacramentū corporis Christi,*

Christ, illius videlicet quod visibile, quod palpabile, mortale in cruce positum est, vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis, que sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio: sic Sacramentum fidei, quod Baptismus intelligitur, fides est. Therefore such as the heavenly bread which is the flesh of Christ, after a peculiar maner is called the body of Christ, when in deede it is the Sacrament of the body of Christ, to wit, of that body, which being visible, which being palpable, being mortall, was put on the crosse, and euen that immolation of the flesh, which is done by the Priests hands, is called the passion, death, crucifixion of Christ, not in trueth of the thing, but in a signifying mysterie: so the Sacrament of faith, which is vnderstood to be baptisme, is faith. And the Gloss. hereupon sayth: *Celestis panis, id est, Celeste Sacramentum, quod verè representat Christi carnem, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie: unde dicitur suo modo, sed non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio. Ut sit sensus: Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat.* The heavenly bread, that is the heavenly Sacrament, which truly representeth the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ, but vnproperly: whereupon it is sayd by a peculiar maner, but not in the trueth of the thing, but in a signifying mysterie. So that the sense is, It is called the body of Christ, that is, it signifieth it.

Camp. All this maketh for transubstantiation. That which we see, is called the body of Christ, where in deede, it is but the colour and the accidents.

Fulke. All maketh for you: but let vs see whether you can so runne away with the matter. He saith, *Celestis panis*, the heavenly bread: can the colour or accidents be called the heavenly bread?

Campion. The meaning is of the accidents and of the signe.

Fulke. This is a strange proposition, color or accidents, is *celestis panis*.

Campion. It is called *Celestis panis*, because it is heavenly bread by consecration.

Fulke. That can not be. For he calleth that heavenly bread, which is the flesh of Christ, and after the maner of it, the body of Christ:

But accidents are not the flesh of Christ, nor the body of Christ: Ergo they are not the heavenly bread.

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Campion. If you respect the qualitie, it is the heavenly bread by consecration.

Fulke. It seemeth you knowe not the place: the Glosse sayth the heavenly bread which is the heavenly Sacrament, is called improperly the body of Christ, not in truely of the thing, but in a signifying myserie.

Camp. Saint Augustine there speaketh popularly. You bewray your slender reading of Augustine, in citing this as Gracians authoritie.

Fulke. It is Gracian in the decrees of your owne Canon law, and the Glosse thereupon. In deede the decree is borrowed of Augustine: but it is more fully against the carnall presence, as it is cited by Gracian.

Campion. I will answer both Gracian and the Glosse.

Fulke. Set it downe then in fewe wordes.

Campion. It is called *eccelestis*, in respect of consecration and transubstantiation: bread, in respect that it is bread & wine outwardly: and for the accidents it is called *Sacramentum*, the Sacrament, in respect that vnder those outward shewes the natural body of Christ is present.

Fulke. So you vnderstand the sacrament (which is denyed to be the body of Christ in truely of the thing) to be 3 accidents: but it is absurd, that accidents shoulde be called the heavenly bread.

Campion. It is not absurd, if it be heavenly vnderstood; but accidents visibly considered of themselves, import absurditie.

Fulke. The Sacrament is the outward shewe, which is not the body of Christ. I will proue that he taketh the word Sacrament, for the whole Sacrament, not for the accidents as you doe.

Campion. He speakes of the whole.

Fulke. He speaketh of the whole, and not of the whole: this is manifest contradiction.

Campion. The word Sacrament, is here taken for the exterior formes, and not for the whole Sacrament.

Fulke. I proue it must be taken for the whole Sacrament, els it could not be compared with Baptisme.

But it is compared with Baptisme:

Ergo he taketh it for the whole Sacrament.

Camp. Your maior I answer: He compareth the element

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of the sacrament of y^e altar, with y^e element of water in baptisme.

Fulke. Hee speaketh of the whole Sacrament of Baptisme, which is called faith, euen as the heauenly bread is called the Sacrament of Christ:

But the water of Baptisme is not called faith:

Ergo he speaketh of the whole Sacrament.

Campion. He respecteth the externall signes, and compareth signes with signes.

Fulke. That which he spoke of, is called the body of Christ:

But the accidents are not called the body of Christ:

Ergo accidents are not that he spake of.

Campion. This is a booke, and yet I see not the substance of a booke, but whitenesse, and other accidents.

Fulke. Who would say that whiteness is the booke: none but a madde man: neither will any say, that whitenesse is the body of Christ, or called the body of Christ. Therefore by the word of heauenly bread, and of the Sacrament, he meaneth the whole sacrament. I see you haue nothing but shamelesse wittes, against so cleare authoritie of your owne Canon law speaking against you.

Campion. If you dare, let me shewe Augustine and Chrysostome: if you dare.

Fulke. Whatsoeuer you can bring, I haue answered already in writing against other of your side: & yet if you thinke you can adde any thing, put it in writing, and I will answer it.

Campion. Prouide me ynke and paper, and I will write.

Fulke. I am not to prouide you ynke and paper,

Campion. I meane, procure me that I may haue libertie to write.

Fulke. I knowe not for what cause you are restrained of that libertie, and therefore I will not take vpon me to procure it.

Campion. Sue to the Queene, that I may haue libertie to oppole, I haue bene nowe thise opposed, it is reason I should oppose once.

Fulke. I will not become a suter for you.

Camp. Sue to the Queene for me, it is but an easie suite: you being in such credit with your prince, may (if you dare) procure this matter. Catholikes of their prince can obtaine a greater matter: and are not you Protestants in such credit with your Prince, that

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that you can obtaine to small a matter?

Fulke. We meane not to trie our credit in this matter. But if you write any thing; I will answer you in writing.

Campion. Procure it.

Fulke. It were to small purpose. I haue answered already Heskins and Saunders; which are fitter to bring us much as you.

Campion. I am not worthy to carry their bookes after them. And you your selfe Sir, may be scholer to either of them.

3. Argument.

Goade. If Christ be present in his naturall body, he must be present in his true body.

But Christ is not present in his true body.
Ergo not in his naturall body.

Campion. I deny your Minor. He is present in his true body.

Goade. A true body must haue the properties of a true body:
But this hath not the properties of a true body:

Ergo it is not a true body.

Camp. I deny againe your Minor. It hath the properties of a true body.

Goade. Amongst the properties of a true body, this is one special, to be circumscribed in place, & not to be in many places at once.

But in your transubstantiation, Christes body is made to bee in many, yea in infinite places at once.

Ergo it hath not the properties of a true body.

Campion. It is in respect of a miracle; not seene with eye, but with our faith.

Goade. Now you runne againe to miracle. It hath bene before shewed you out of Augustine, that there is no miracle in the Sacrament, and your selfe said that miracles are nowe ceased.

Campion. It is a great miracle to conuert a sinner, pe a greater then to make the woyle, and this kinde of miracle is vaily.

Goade. Now you would go from the matter, this is not properly a miracle. But to the purpose, Answer the argument.

That which is in many places at once, is not a true body:

But as you teach, Christ in the Sacrament is bodily in many places at once:

Ergo not a true body.

Campion. The propertie of the fire is to burne, yet the three children

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children in the fire were not burned. Will you challenge hence
that it was truly fire?

Goade. That was in deede and properly a miracle, whereof
the Scripture testifieth, which visibly was sense.

Campion. So is this a miracle.

Goade. Beside, it is not sensible, which must bee in a miracle:
There is no ground of the way for it. And faith must be ground-
ed on the worde of God.

Campion. The word teacheth that God is omnipotent.

Goade. But that will reason from Gods omnipotencie, must
prooue also his will. *Omnis que voluit facit*. He hath done all
things whatsoever he would.

Camp. Nay, you must proue it is not his will.

Goade. I will proue it out of Theodoret. Dialo. 3. qui inscri-
bitur imparibilis, uniting of the glorified body of Christ after his
resurrection: *Non est mutatio in natura diuinitatis; sed post re-
surrectionem est quidem & immortale; & incorruptibile; & interitu
alienum; & diuina gloria plenum: sed tamen corpus est, quod habet
propriam circumscriptionem*. The body of Christ is not changed
into the nature of his diuinitie, but after his resurrection it is in
deede a body immortall, free from corruption and full of diuine
glorie: but yet it is a body that hath a proper circumscription.

Campion. When it pleaseth Christ to worke a miracle, he is
not bound to the natural properties, he doth not alwayes practise
all his properties. His body ascending into heauen, had the true
properties of a body, yet did not then practise them. It is against
the naturall propertie of a body to ascend upward.

Goade. This ascension of Christs body, being an article of
our faith, is grounded vpon the worde, that his body was taken
up, & neuertheless remained a true body circumscribed in place.
Augustine sayth, we must not take away the truth of Christs bo-
dy. Epist. ad Dard. 57. *Cauendum ne ita diuinitatem astruamus
hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus; cui profecto immortalita-
tem deus parauit non abstulit*. Wee must take heede, that we
doe not so maintayne the Godhead of Christ being man, that
we take away the truth of his body, whereunto hee came im-
mortalitie, but tooke not away the nature.

Campion. You neede not bring these places, I graunt that

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Christ hath a true body. But you may as well deny the ascension of Christ, being against the proprietie of a true body to ascende upward.

Goade. I answered before, that this is an article of our faith, grounded vpon the expresse worde of God. And because ye do beleue by the word, that Christes body is ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God, and from thence shall come to iudge: therefore we cannot beleue the contrary, that Christ is yet present on earth. So Augustine reasoneth in the same Epistle: *Christus Iesus ubi que est per id quod Deus, in uero uisum per aliquid hominis, spatio locorum tolle corporis sui, usquequam erant: & quia usquequam erant; nec erant.* Christ Iesus is euery where as he is God; but as he is man, he is in heauen. Take away space of places from bodies; & they shall be in no place: and because in no place; they shall haue no being at all.

Campion. I thinke I haue answered sufficiently: he is present not naturally, but miraculously.

Goade. Why, then ye destroy the proprietie of a true bodie, & so consequently take away the truely of a body.

Campion. I graunt the properties, though the same bee not alwayes put in practise.

Goade. Then sometime Christ may haue many, or rather infinite bodies in many places at one time, when the proprietie of a true body ceaseth.

Camp. Nay, it remaineth still one and the same body, though in many places at one time.

Goade. When Christ deliuered his body in his last supper, I pray you, were there not by your opinion two sundrie bodies: namely Christ himselfe the author and actor in the supper, was it not the one: and the bread transubstantiated (as ye will haue it) into Christes body, was it not the other?

Camp. Christ the actor in the Institution, yet was then present in the same body in the Sacrament: if he will haue it so, who can let him? I say he is miraculously in many places at once.

Goade. Nowe we come againe to his will. But I deny that he will haue it so, and you can not proue it. Saint Augustine is flat against you in the forenamed Epistle, writing against the like heretiques of his time, that would take from Christ the properties

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of a true body, after his glorification, as to be circumscribed in one place, &c.

Casp. We byge me much with Augustine. Let me shewe for my selfe Augustine, Chrysostome, & others of the fathers, if you dare.

Goade. This is not to answer. Come you to dare? This is like your bold challenge.

Campion. You may if ye list, procure leave that I may oppose. Catholiques could easily obtaine a greater matter then this of their princes, and can not you obtaine this of your Prince?

Fulke. We see it is to no purpose. Whatsoever you can bring is known and answered already. Heskins, Allen, and others of your side, who are farre your betters, I have already answered. Well, I will go to another argument.

If Christ be present in his naturall body, he is receyued not onely of the godly, but also of the wicked:

But he is not receyued of the wicked:

Ergo he is not present in his naturall body.

Campion. I denie your Minor.

Fulke. I proue the minor out of S. Augustine de ciuitate Dei, lib. 21. cap. 25. *Nec isti ergo dicēdi sunt manducare corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi, (ut alia taceam) nō possunt simul esse & mēbra Christi, & mēbra meretricis. Deniq; ipse dicens, qui manducat carnem meam, & bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, & ego in eo, ostendit quid sit, non Sacramento tenus, sed reuera corpus Christi manducare, & eius sanguinem bibere.* Therefore neither is it to be sayd, that these vngodly men do eate the body of Christ, because they are not to bee accompted in the members of Christ, (for to omit other things) they cannot be at one time, both the members of Christ and the members of an harlot. Finally he himselfe, saying he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him, sheweth what it is, not so farre as a Sacrament may goe, but in very deede to eate the body of Christ, and to drinke his blood.

Camp. His meaning is, they receyue not the grace of Christ effectually to saluation.

Fulke. His wordes are, they receiue not the bodie of Christ, reuera in deede, but *sacramento tenus*, in a sacrament, or sacramentally. Againe he sayeth, that Christ dwelleth not in them:

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Ergo

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Ergo they eate not the body of Christ.

Campion. He dwelleth not in them vnto saluation.

Fulke. True, and therefore they eate not his body: for whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ, hath Christ dwelling in him to saluation.

Campion. Whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ worthily: but the wicked also eate the body of Christ, though unworthily.

Fulke. He saith expressely they eate not the body of Christ *reuera*, that is in deede, or verily, but sacramentally.

Campion. Wherefore then are they guiltie?

Fulke. That is an other question. And yet one may be guiltie of the Hatellie of the Prince, which refuseth to obey the same, or dispiseth the same: so are they guiltie of the body of Christ, which refuse to receiue it being offered.

Campion. They receiue Christ, but not worthily. He that receiueth Baptisme, receiueth the holy Ghost, or else the Sacrament should not be true: so Saint Paul sayeth, He that eateth the body of Christ vnworthily, is guiltie of the body and blood of Christ.

Fulke. He that receiueth vnworthily, receiueth the sacrament: & the Sacrament may be true, though he receiue it vnworthily. Againe, you falsifie the text, when you say, he that eateth the body of Christ vnworthily. Saint Pauls words are: He that eateth this bread and drinketh this cuppe of the Lord vnworthily,

Campion. They must either receiue Christ vnworthily, or his grate:

They receiue not the grace of Christ vnworthily:

Ergo they receiue Christ vnworthily.

Fulke. Christ can neuer be separated from his grace. A man may receiue the grace of Christ, though he receiue not his body. But he cannot receiue the body of Christ, but he must also receiue his grace.

Campion. The wicked receiue the body of Christ, but not his grace.

Fulke. So you say: but answere to Saint Augustine, which sayth, The wicked eate not the body of Christ in very deede.

Campion. They eate Christ sacramentally.

Fulke. Yea, but not in deede, as Saint Augustine sayth.

Campion.

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Campion. They receiue the same Chrift, but not to the same comfort that the goodly do.

Fulke. They do not receiue Chrift, saith Saint Augustine: because they are not to be accompted in the members of Chrift.

Campion. And I say the same.

Fulke. He saith, they eate not the body of Chrift in deede: you affirme that they eate the body of Chrift in deede. Againe, Saint Augustine saith, *Hoc est in Christo manere &c.* This it is to dwell in Chrift, that Chrift may dwell in vs. For so he sayde this, as though he had sayd, He that dwelleth not in me, and in whome I dwell not, let him not say or thinke he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.

Camp. The wicked eate the same bodie, but not to the same effect.

Fulke. Augustine saith, they eate not his body *reuera*, in deede: I see you haue no other thift of answer. Therefore I will leaue it to iudgement.

The Apostles receiued not the same body that afterwards was crucified, therefore your solution of the same body, not after the same maner and qualitie, cannot stand.

Campion. They receiued the same body, both before and after his passion.

Goade. I will follow the constitution of that absurd assertion, that the wicked eate the body of Chrift, which is easie to be imputed many waies. I frame mine argument thus.

Whofoener eateth the body of Chrift, doeth eate *Rem sacramenti*, The thing or substance of the Sacrament:

Here M. Lieutenant admonished them that the time was past.

10. Argument.

But no wicked or unbeleuing person, can eate *Rem sacramenti*:

Ergo no wicked person can eate the body of Chrift.

Campion. I distinguish of your Maior. *Res sacramenti*, is taken two waies: for the body of Chrift, or the inuisible grace of Chrift. The wicked are partakers of the body of Chrift, but not of his inuisible grace.

Goade. You can not thus distinguish that which in it selfe is all one, though it differeth in wordes: as the body of Chrift, and the thing or substance of the sacrament. Which I proue evidently out of Augustin. *In Io. Trac. 25. Huius rei sacramentum sumit in quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitum, res uero ipsa cuius sacramentum*

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mentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicumq; eius particeps fuerit. The sacrament of this thing is receiued of some vnto life, and of some vnto death. But the thing or substance it selfe, whereof the outward signe is a sacrament, is receiued of all men to life, and of none to death, whosoever is partaker thereof. Whereby it is manifest, that Saint Augustine doth make but two partes of the sacrament, which he doth distinguish: viz. the outward signe which he calleth the sacrament, and the inward thing or substance of the sacrament, which is Christ himselfe. And out of the same wordes of Augustine, I followe mine argument thus against your absurde distinction.

Whosoever eateth Christ the thing or substance of the Sacrament, shall liue for euer:

But none of the wicked or vnfaithfull shall liue for euer:

Ergo none of the wicked can eate Christ, being the substance of the sacrament.

Camp. If you wil reply vpon mine answer, take my wordes. The wicked eat not Christ effectually and worthily, according to inuisible grace.

Goade. You answer not mine argument out of Augustine, and as for your wordes and distinction, it is too absurde to separate the eating of Christ himselfe from effectually or worthily eating, seeing that whosoever eateth Christ the substance of the sacrament, doeth liue for euer, and so consequently must needes eate him effectually. Consider the wordes of Augustine, he affirmeth the sacrament to consist of two thinges, the visible signe, which he calleth *Huius rei sacramentum*, and the inuisible grace, or Christ himselfe, which he calleth *Rem sacramenti*. As also Irenaeus saith, the sacrament consisteth of two thinges: the one earthly, the outward element; and the other heavenly, which is Christ himselfe.

Campion. That part of the sacrament, which is called heavenly, is taken two manner of wayes: either in respect of Christ himselfe, or in respect of the wicked. Christ in himselfe is alwayes heavenly, but to the wicked which receiue not the grace of Christ, he is not heavenly, though he be present, and they receiue him to their condemnation.

Goade. You answer not the reason nor authoritie of Augustine. This was taken away before, none can receiue Christ, but they

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they must also receaue his heauenly grace to eternall life: but my purpose was not to haue urged this argument.

Fulke. I will vse but one brieve argument.

That which Christ promised to giue in the Sacrament, was 11. Arg.
not the same which was crucified:

Ergo it was not the naturall body of Christ which they receaued.

Camp. It was the same which was crucified.

Fulke. S. Augustine denieth it, speaking in the person of Christ in these wordes. *In Psal. 98. Non hoc corpus quod uidetis manducaturi estis & bibisuri illum sanguinem quem fusi sunt qui me crucifigent: sacramentum aliquod vobis commendani, spiritualiter intellectum vinificabit vos.* You shall not eate that body which you see, and drinke that blood which they shall shed that shall crucifie me: I haue commended vnto you a certaine sacrament, which being spiritually ynderstoode, shall giue you life.

Campion. This is a fallacion: he denieth *modum* the maner & not the substance. Your reason is like this. *Quicquid emisti &c.* that which you haue bought you haue eaten: you haue bought rawe flesh, therefore you haue eaten rawe flesh.

Fulke. You cannot so auoide it, he denieth the same body, and speaketh not of the maner.

Campion. The same body that was crucified we receaue, but not *eodem modo*, after the same maner.

Fulke. Was the maner of his blood shedde, or his very blood in deede?

Camp. His very blood in deede was shed.

Fulke. Why then, that blood which was shedde is denied to be giuen.

Camp. The same body which was crucified is giuen, but not after the same sort: for when he was crucified, he was mangled and wounded, so he is not now, he is giuen after an other sort.

Fulke. So by your Glosse you make *Corpus* to be in the predicament of qualitie, which is absurde: *Maledicta glossa que corrumpit textum.* You haue sodd these coleworps long enough, the place is plaine, denying the same body and the same blood, and not the maner and sort thereof.

Camp. The learned knowe mine answer. He is not the same man

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man which he was before, which is altered in qualities.

Fulke. A fine answer in deede: As though Christ should meane that the qualities of his body & blood, should be so altered that they might fully be saide not to bee the same, although they were the same.

Campion. Augustine upon the same Psalme, affirmeth the body of Christ is so present in the Sacrament, that it may bee adored.

Fulke. Doeth he say, that the body of Christ may be adored in the sacrament?

Camp. He saith, no man eateth that body, except he adore it.

Fulke. That is an other matter. I say so likewise, that no man receaueth the body of Christ, except hee adore it. But Augustine saith not, except he adore it in the sacrament. But the time will not suffer vs to proceede any further.

Goade. If Christ be present in the sacrament in his naturall body, the he is present either in a mortall, or els in a glorified body: But neither in a mortall, nor yet glorified body:

Ergo he is not present in his naturall body.

Campion. I denie your Minor. Hee is present in his glorified body.

Goade. If he be present in body, it must be the same body that he deliuered to his Apostles in his last supper:

But that was not glorified, but mortall:

Ergo if he be present in any kinde of body, it must bee a mortall body.

Camp. The body of Christ was not yet glorified when the Sacrament was instituted. What of that? it is no matter whether his body were glorified or not glorified.

Goade. Yes, for you affirmed before, that Christ is present in his glorified body, which I haue improued, Christ hauing then a naturall and mortall body, wherein shortly after he was to be glorified, not the same it was after his resurrection.

Camp. A fallation in the same. Glorification doeth not make it not the same body: a man sick and a man whole at sundrie times, yet remaineth the same man.

Goade. By meaning and wordes are plaine, hauing made the comparifon betweene mortall and glorified. I made the difference to be

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to be not in substance but in qualittie: but nowe it appeareth that you must seeke an other place then *Hoc est corpus meum* in the institution, whereon to builde your reall presence. Allee talke what was then at the time of the institution.

Camp. May we ground sufficiently vpon that place: though Christes bodie be now glorified, yet we do not builde vpon glorification, but vpon the wordes, This is my body, which Christ hath spoken, and therefore it is his body.

Goade. But you are not yet resolved what kinde of body. It is an other now, from that it was then.

Camp. Yet the same bodie, though differing in condition. Christ cannot be wounded now as afore, yet the same flesh.

Goade. I do not denie the same body in substance to bee nowe that was then: but you see that the presence of a glorified bodie which you affirmed, is not grounded vpon *Hoc est corpus meum*. But I leaue this argument.

Goade. Let vs conclude with prayer. Almightye Lord and mercifull father, we prebde thee humble thanks for thy manifold benefites bestowed vpon vs, especially þ thou hast vouchsafed vs the knowledge and loue of thy heauenly trueth contained in thy holy worde, which thou hast denied vnto many others, leauing the in their owne peruerse blindnes: we beseeche thee to encrease daily in vs more and more the true knowledge of thee, & of thy sonne Iesus Christ, whom thou hast sent, & vouchsafe to make thy trueth so much the more deare and precious vnto vs, for that it hath enemies that daily seeke to obscure and impugn the same, and as for those that goe astray, so many of them as pertaine vnto thy kingdom, we beseeche thee in thy good time, to call to lighen their mindes, and to mollifie their heartes, that we may together

ther with one heart, and one mouth glorifie thee.

thorowe our Lord Iesus Christ.

Amen.

3 The disputation in the afternoone
the same day.

The second question or assertion
of Campion.

The question. After the wordes of Consecration, the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ.

Fulke.



Et vs beginne with prayer. O almightie God and most mercifull father, we humbly submitte our selues before thy maiestie, and do vnfaignedly acknowledge that our heartes are full of ignorance and blindness, so that wee cannot understande thy wonderfull truely by our selues, nor see it when it is reuelled by thee, except it please thy Maiestie by thy holy Spirit to lighten our darkenes, & giue sight to our blindness. Therefore we humbly beseech thee, to assaile vs by thy grace, and to giue vs sight to see thy truely, and strength to defende the same against all thine enemies, that the weake may be confirmed, the obstinate confounded, and thy name glorified through Iesus Christ our Lord.

Because you tooke a time to finde those wordes which you reported to be in my booke, and I see the booke in your hand, I pray you reade them if you haue founde them.

Camp. The booke is mistaken, it is not that booke I meant.

Fulke. It is the booke that you named.

Camp. I am sure you do not disclaime the opinion.

Fulke. As I tolde you in the forenoone, I do disclaime it in such sorte as it was decreed by you, which you are not able to proue to be affirmed by me.

Campion. You make invocation of Saintes, a matter of great waight.

Fulke. The Church did erre in that point, but not as you Papistes doe erre in it. There is great difference betweene their error and yours. But let vs come to the appointed question, which is against Transubstantiation.

I proue

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Ippoue there remaineth the substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament after consecration. The question.

Our Saviour drinke the same that his Apostles did.

But our Saviour drinke wine:

Ergo his Apostles drinke wine. r. Argumēt.

Camp. I deny that our saviour drinke of the consecrated wine.

Fulke. The wordes of the Euangelist are plaine, that our Saviour Christ spake, I will drinke no more from henceforth of the fruite of the vine. These wordes are plaine of wine: for the blood of Christ is not the fruite of the vine.

Camp. This signifieth that our Saviour did eat indefinitely, whether he did eate of the same bread, or drinke of the same cup of wine which he gaue. I doubt not he did eate & drinke with them.

Fulke. He protested that he would not drinke any more of that which he gaue.

But that which he gaue vnto them was wine:

Therefore he dranke of the same wine:

Campion. This text conuinceth it not.

Fulke. Yes, plainly.

Camp. He speaketh of that wine which was drinke at supper, for all was wine, if there had bene 20. gallons before consecration.

Fulke. He speaketh of the wine in his hande: for whereto else hath the Pronounne (this) relation? After he had taken the cup in his hand, immediately he sayth, I will not drinke any more of this fruite of the vine.

Camp. He had supped with them, hee had eaten the Passall lambe with them, he would not take any more repast with them in this life till his resurrection, as afoze: therefore it is to be referred to the action that went before.

Fulke. It is plaine that he speaketh of the same wine which he had in his hande, & which he gaue vnto them. And Chrysostomes wordes declare the same in *Marth. Homil. 89. Se dicitur transmutatio non aquam sed vinum post resurrectionem bibi? perniciosam quandam heresim radicibus euellere voluit eorum, qui aqua in mysterijs vtiuntur, ita vt ostenderet quia & quando hoc mysterium traderet, vinum tradidit: & iam post resurrectionem in nuda mysterij mensa vino visus est. Ex germine autem (aut) vitis, quae certe non aqua sed vinum producit.* But for what cause did he not drinke water, but wine after

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his resurrection? His purpose was to pull vp by the rootes a certaine pernicious heresie of them which vse water in the mysteries: so that he shewed, that both when he deliuered this myste-
rie, he deliuered wine, and now also after his resurrection, in the onely table of the misterie, he vsed wine. Of the fauite of the vine sayeth he, which verely bringeth forth wine and not water.

Campion. All this makes for me.

Fulke. You shall heare howe it maketh for you. Here you see, that he dranke of that which he deliuered to his disciples:

And he dranke wine:

Therefore he deliuered wine to his disciples.

Campion. He deliuered that which had the shew of wine: doth he say that he gaue wine?

Fulke. He sayeth, *Vinum tradidit*, He deliuered wine, or hee gaue wine.

Campion. Goe to, he deliuered consecrated wine: He did consecrate wine, and did giue it vnto them.

Fulke. He gaue consecrated wine:

Ergo he gaue wine.

Campion. I denie your argument: for consecrated wine is not wine.

Fulke. Then he gaue wine that was not wine: For Chrysostome sayth, *Vinum tradidit*, He gaue wine.

Campion. He gaue that, that was wine.

Fulke. Chrysostome sayeth, That which hee deliuered was wine when he deliuered it, or else howe did he take away the heresie of those that brought in water, if he had not giuen wine.

Campion. The meaning of Chrysostome is, to bing in wine against those that would haue water. He sayth he deliuered wine, but consecrated wine, to exclude water.

Fulke. He excluded water to bing in wine, and not to shut out both water and wine.

Campion. We vse wine in the mysteries.

Fulke. But he saith, Christ deliuered wine: so doe not you say when you giue the cuppe.

Camp. Hee gaue them that which had the name of wine, and had the shew of it, but now was not in deede wine. As for example, the

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the rod of Moyses was called a rod, after it was turned into a serpent, because it was a rod a litle before.

Fulke. The rod was miraculously turned into a serpent, and returned into a rodde againe: both which miracles were to be iudged by the sense, and yet you proue not that it was called a rodde, while it was a serpent.

Campion. Yes that I do, *Et deuorauit virga Aaron, &c.* And the rod of Aaron deuoured the rod of the enchaunters.

Fulke. Yea Sir, That which was a rodde while Moyses did write, and was a very serpent before Pharaos, deuoured the rodde of the Egyptians which were serpents in shew, but rods in deede. Moyses called it a rod when it was a rodde, and not when it was a serpent. Again, it was a sensible miracle.

Campion. So there is great miracles in the Sacrament.

Fulke. So you say, but none appeareth to our sense.

Campion. They are vnderstood by faith.

Fulke. It is an easie matter so to sayne miracles in euery matter: but God did neuer shewe miracle in conuersion of substances, or any sensible thing, but it was to be iudged by the senses to be a miracle. Bring me one instance of any miracle in conuersion, or in any other sensible thing, that could not be discerned by sense.

Camp. It was a rod a litle before, that after was called a serpent, and yet retained the name it had before: as *Claudi ambulat, Cæci vident, &c.*

Fulke. That is not denyed, although by you it can not be proued: but here the place is playne. Chrysostome speaketh of the substance of the Sacrament, he deliuered wine, and they receyued wine.

Campion. I haue answered, Leauē the rest to God, and their consciences which are the hearers.

Goade. I will continue to hyge you further with the wordes of the Institution. Your answer can not bee allowed for good, when you would shift off the plaine wordes of our saniour Christ, calling it wine being the fruite of the vine, and woulde haue this referred to the wine used in eating the Pascall, before the institution. You may not so leape backe from the Institution to the Pascall, there was some distance of time betwene the Pascall and

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the Supper: so you can not referre this to the whole action.

Camp. You say well. The eating of the pascall Lambe went before, and the Institution followed: and yet I say the wordes of Christ concerning the fruit of the vine, hath relation to the whole.

Goade. Consider the order of the wordes in the Euangelist: As they were eating the Pasleouer, Iesus tooke bread, &c. And then after he had deliuered the cup, and bad them all drinke thereof, calling it his blood, then followeth, I say vnto you, I will not drinke hereafter of this fruite of the vine, &c. But I will make my argument from the Institution, thus.

2. Argumēt, The Apostles did eate the substance of breade and wine after consecration, as you terme it:

Therefore there remaineth the substance of breade and wine after consecration.

Campion. I deny your Antecedent.

Goade. That which our Sauour Christ gaue, the Apostles did eate:

But he gaue bread and wine:

Ergo they did eate bread and wine.

Camp. I deny your minor. He did not giue bread and wine.

Goade. The same which Christ tooke into his handes, he also deliuered:

But he tooke bread and wine:

Ergo he deliuered bread and wine.

Campion. I answere out of Ambrose. Before consecration it was bread, and so he tooke bread, but after the wordes of consecration, he saith it is no bread.

Fulke. You falsifie Ambrose, and woult abuse the auditoie, for he doeth not say it is no bread.

Camp. He sayeth there is a chaunge. I pray you let me make one argument out of Ambrose, and answere me if you can.

Goade. Well, make your argument, you shalbe answered.

Campion. Let me borrow the booke. Nowe heare Ambrose wordes lib. de Sacramentis. 4. cap. 4. Tu forte dicis, panis est vsuarius. Sed panis iste panis est ante verba Sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi: inssit & facta sunt. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est

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est, ut sint qua erant, & in aliud commutentur. Peraduenture thou sayest that it is common bread. But this bread before the sacramentall words is bread: but after consecration, of bread is made the flesh of Christ. Thou seest then of what efficacie the word of Christ is, he commaunded and the creatures were made, If then there is so great force in the worde of the Lorde, that the things that were not, begun to be: how much more is it able to worke, that the things which were, should haue still their being, and be chaunged into other things.

Goad. I know the place, and thus I answer. First ye haue not any worde in Ambrose to exclude the substance of bread. We acknowledge a chaunge with Ambrose, not of one substance into an other, as you would haue to be, but touching the vse whereto the sacrament serueth, namely that which was common bread before, ordeined to a common vse to feede the body, is now conuerted and consecrated to an holy and spirituall vse, to nourish the soule, by feeding vpon Christ by true and liuely faith.

Campion. But Ambrose wordes are plaine, that which before was bread, after consecration *ex pane fit caro Christi*, of bread is made the flesh of Christ.

Goad. Ambrose wordes in deede are plaine in the same chapter, whereby he doeth expound his meaning, the chaunge to be as I haue said touching the vse, and not the substance. *Dicis communem panem, &c.* By these wordes it appeareth, that Ambrose purpose was to confute their opinion, who thought ouer basely of the Sacrament, making no difference betweene it & common bread. Thou sayest it is common bread, but thou art deceiued, it is consecrated and chaunged to an holy and heauenly vse, and is become sacramentally the flesh of Christ.

Campion. It is called bread, but it is not bread, for *ex pane fit caro Christi*. And euen as he made heauen and earth by his worde, so by his worde the bread is made his flesh.

Goad. We deny not that it is Christes flesh, as him selfe saith of the bread, This is my body: but it is to be vnderstoode as a sacramentall speech, when the name of the thing is giuen to the signe, as after shalbe shewed out of Augustine.

Camp. The words are forcible, of bread is made flesh, & *Sermo Christi est operatorius*. The word of Christ is of power & efficacy.
Goad.

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Goade. That is, of common bread is now made Christs body, appointed to be a sacrament of his body. And although this be a wonderfull chaunge by the force of Christs word and institution, that common bread should be chaunged to a spirituall be, yet Ambrose doeth not say that the substance of bread is chaunged, but rather the contrarie, that the substance doeth still remaine, as appeareth by diuers examples of miracles he alleadgeth in the same chapter, and also by his wordes, *Vi sunt que erant, & in aliud commutentur*, That they should remaine and be as they were, & also be chaunged touching the vse. Nowe you haue byged what you can out of Ambrose, I will returne againe to followe mine argument drawen from the wordes of the Institution, as they are explained by S. Paul. 1. Cor. 10. 16. *Panis quem frangimus, &c.* The bread which we breake, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? Whereby appeareth, that after sanctification remaineth bread: for he sayth, the bread which we breake, and breaking followeth after blessing or sanctifying. It can not be vnderstoode the body of Christ, for that can not be broken. So by this place, after consecration remaineth bread still.

Campion. It reteineth still the name of bread in diuers respects: first, because it was bread before, and secondly because it hath the shew of bread: as Moyses rod being turned into a serpent, keepeth still the name it had before.

Goade. You are now wandring into discourses, I will not followe you. The Apostles plaine wordes taketh away your answer. It followeth in the text, We are all partakers of the same bread, he saith not the same that was bread before: and it is consecrate before it commeth to participation. And the same Apostle in the next chapter, oftentimes repeateth and calleth it bread, when it commeth to be receiued after sanctification.

Campion. I haue giuen you two causes, why it is so called: I will adde the third, because of the analogie betweene the bread and that which feedeth our soules. Make a Syllogisme.

Goade. I byge the wordes of the Apostle, there needeth no Syllogisme: answer plainly and directly.

Campion. I haue giuen three causes, why it is called bread.

Goade. Your causes can not stand. For touching your comparison of the rod turned into a serpent, there appeared a sensible chaunge

change as is vsuall in miracles, but here is no such thing in the sacrament, and therefore the comparison holdeth not, And for the analogie, it maketh directly against you. For euen as the bread receiued, feedeth the body: so doeth Christ, the soule. But if when it cometh to be receiued into the body, there be no bread in deede as you say, then where is your analogie?

Campion. It sufficeth that it was bread before, and so appeareth the analogie by the feeding of our soules.

Goade. What doeth the bread feede our soules?

Campion. Yea, Christ that is bread of life, feedeth our soules. Make a Syllogisme, & then we shall see whether your argument hath any force or force.

Goade. We are come to the wordes and authoritie of the Scripture. If the wordes of Christs Institution, and all these manifest places of the Apostle be of no force, then I confesse mine argument to be nothing. I leaue you to iudgement.

Fulke. Your answer is taken away by the worde breaking. The breade which we breake, &c. The bodie of Christ is not broken, but the breade, and not that which appeareth to be breade.

Campion. The bread is broken by qualitie, and not by substance. Can substance be broken?

Fulke. Bread is broken.

And bread is substance.

Therefore substance is broken.

When stickes are broken, shall we say that the substance of them is not broken, but the accidents? this is foolish Sophistrie. But I will reason thus with you. There is some thing in the Sacrament materiall, which goeth the way of all meates:

Ergo there is bread and wine.

Campion. Whatsoeuer becommeth of all those qualities, the colour, the taste, the quantitie, &c. it happeneth to them as to accidents: for it is certaine there remaineth neither breade nor wine.

Fulke. The taste goeth not that way, nor in deede any of the accidentes vnlterred: but heare what Origen sayeth, in Math. cap. 15. *Quod si quicquid in os ingreditur, in ventrem abiit, & in secessum eicitur, & ille cibis qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, per q.*

3. Argum.

U. i.

obsecratio.

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obsecrationem, iuxta id quod habet materiale in ventrem abis, & in secessionem eicitur. Caterum iuxta precationem qua illi accessit, proportionē fidei sit utilis, efficiens ut perspicax fiat animus, spectans ad id quod utile est. Nec materia panis, sed super illum datus sermo est qui prodest non indignē comedenti illam. Et hac quidem de typico Symbolicoq; corpore.

Campion. The quantitie is auoyded, and other accidents.

Fulke. It is monstrous that you speake. Origen sapeeth, the materiall part of the Sacrament, and the matter of bread, I will reade his wordes in English. If whatsoeuer entreth into the mouth goeth into the belley, and is cast out into the draught, euen that meate also which is sanctified by the worde of God, and by prayer, according to that which it hath materiall goeth into the belley, and is cast forth into the draught. But according to the prayer which is added vnto it, after the portion of faith, it is made profitable, causing that the minde may be made cleare of sight, looking to that which is profitable. Neither is it the matter of bread, but the worde spoken ouer it, which profiteth him that eateth it not vnworthily. And these things are spoken of the typicall and symbolicall body.

Camp. I haue answered. The accidents goe, the quantitie, qualitie, and such like.

Fulke. The place is plaine. Origen acknowledgeth a materiall part of the Sacrament, which is substance. In what prædicament is *Materia*?

Campion. In none. *Materia* take n indefinitely, is in no prædicament, for it is in all prædicaments. The matter of substance is in substance, of quantitie in quantitie, &c.

Fulke. Well, then y^e matter of substance is substance. The matter of bread is the matter of substance: therefore y^e matter of bread is substance. Then it is substance and not accidents, which is auoyded by Origen iudgement.

Campion. He saith not, the matter of bread is auoyded.

Fulke. He sapeeth that meate which is sanctified, according to that which it hath materiall, is auoyded:

Meate is that which feedeth, accidents feede not:

Therefore accidents are not called meate.

Campion. Accidentes doe feede, and that I will stande to prooue,

prooue. Fulke. Philosophie, Physicke, and Diuinitie, are much beholding to you. It was neuer heard of before, that bare accidents without substance, could feede or nourish.

Camp. He meaneth the matter of the sacrament, and not the materiall substance of bread which is auoyded. The sacrament consisteth of the signe, and the thing signified. The signe is the outward shape, whitenesse, quantitie, &c. this is the material part of the Sacrament, which is auoyded.

Fulke. There is no one of these accidents, shape, quantitie, colour, taste, that are auoyded, because they are altered in the stomacke, before they come to the place of auoydance. Again, it is a shamefull absurditie, to say that the accidents are the meat which is sanctified by the word and prayer.

Camp. I answer, *Id quod habet materiam*, is the matter of the Sacrament, not of the bread.

Fulke. This place is too plaine against you: euery one may see your answer howe vaine it is.

Goade. That which overthroweth both the nature and vse of a Sacrament, is not to be admitted.

But transubstantiation doeth overthrow both the nature and vse of a Sacrament:

Ergo it is not to be admitted, and consequently untrue what you affirme, the bread and wine to be transubstantiated, &c.

Campion. I denie your Minor, it doeth overthrow neither the nature, nor the vse of a Sacrament.

Goade. I must proue both the members severally, because you denie both: and first, that it taketh away the nature of a Sacrament. A Sacrament consisteth of two things, the matter, and the forme: the visible signe, and the invisible grace: the one earthly, and the other heavenly, as Irenaeus saith, the element, and the worde according to Augustine, *Accedit uerbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum*. Let the worde come vnto the element, and so it is made a Sacrament. This being so, then thus I reason.

Whatsoever taketh away the element, overthroweth the Sacrament: for the word must come vnto the element, as Augustine saith, the element must not depart away.

But transubstantiation taketh away the elements.

¶ ii.

Ergo

The third dayes

Ergo Transubstantiation ouerthroweth the nature of the sacrament.
100. **Campion.** I denie your Minor, it doeth not take away the element.

Goade. It taketh away the materiall part, the substance of bread and wine.

Ergo it taketh away the element.

Campion. I say it taketh away neither the heavenly nor the earthly part.

Goade. You answered not directly to mine argument. But I will proue, that it taketh away the earthly part.

It taketh away the substance of bread :

Ergo the earthly part.

Campion. I deny your argument. For there remaineth res terrestis, an earthly thing, though the substance be changed.

Goade. What is that earthly thing, if there remaine no substance? Every Sacrament must consist of the element and the word: the element is the earthly creature or substance.

Camp. The element doeth not note a substance, there remaineth an earthly creature, the whitenesse of the bread.

Goade. What, can the whitenesse remaine without substance or subject? The Sacrament must consist of the substance of Christs body, and the substance of bread and wine.

Campion. Res terrestis, the earthly thing remaineth, but not the substance: we are come to a new point.

Goade. So it seemeth. I will here leaue the first part. I had to proue, and now will come to the second, touching the use of the Sacrament: which I will also proue to be destroyed by your transubstantiation. You spake before of the analogie in the Sacrament, there must be a similitude and proportion betwene the signs and the thing signified. As in Baptisme, the element of water washing the body, and the holy Ghost through the blood of Christ washing and sanctifying the soule. So in the other Sacrament, as the substance of bread receiued nourisheth the body: so Christ receiued by faith, nourisheth the soule. Euen as Augustine very well noteth this analogie, in his 24. Epistle, in these wordes. Sacramenta quantum similitudinem rerum quarum sunt Sacramenta non habent, omnino Sacramenta non essent. Et. Nec autem similitudine plerumq. ipsarum etiam

conference.

rarum nomina recipiunt. Sicut ergo secundū quendam modū, Sacramentum corporis Christi Corpus Christi est, Sacramentū sanguinis Christi Sanguis Christi est: ita sacramentum fidei, fides est. If sacraments had not a certaine resemblance of those things whereof they are sacraments, they shoulde not at all be sacraments. And by reason of this resemblance, for the most part they take the names of the things themselves. Therefore as the sacrament of the body of Christ, after a certaine maner, is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ, is the blood of Christ: so the sacrament of faith, is called faith,

Nowe this similitude or proportion by you, is cleane taken away, while ye take away the substance of bread that shoulde nourish the body, and so consequently ye take away the nature of a sacrament by Saint Augustines reason.

Campion. The similitude is not taken away, though there remaine no substance of bread and wine, for there remaineth accidents which do nourish. Do not qualities feede: bread may feede by accidents in all the qualities of bread.

Goade. This is strange. I might tell you that this is against Philosophie, that accidents without substance shoulde feede: but we are in diuinitie, The very true and principall vse of this sacrament, is to confirme our faith, that as surely as the bread and wine feedeth our bodies, euen as certainly the body & blood of Christ receiued by faith, feedeth and nourisheth our soules.

Nowe by your taking away the substance of bread, wee are brought into doubt of the nourishment of our bodies by the outward element, and so consequently of the feeding of our soules by Christ the heauenly bread: and so ye destroy the analogie and chiefe vse of this sacrament.

Campion. When God doth worke a miracle, it is no maruell though there follow wonderfull sequels: I say, that colour may remaine without substance, and accidents may feede and nourish. I will defend it in the Vniuersitie: I woulde I might haue libertie to defende it.

Goade. What will you defende that accidents without substance may nourish, that is too absurde.

Campion. No absurditie at al. If it please God to take away the substance of water, & leaue the qualitie of made faction, what

The third dayes

hurt were it, might it not be sufficient? And if you will needes urge the analogie of feeding by the substance, it is sufficient that there was also the substance of bread before consecration, wherein may stand the analogie.

Goade. Let me make it plaine vnto this auditoie, how manifestly you take away the comfortable vse and analogie in this sacrament. When I come to receaue, by this meanes I ought to strengthen my faith, that euen as I knowe most assuredly, that the substance of bread and wine serueth to nourish, and doth feede my body: euen so Iesus Christ being receaued by faith, doth also nourish my soule vnto eternall life. This is a most comfortable analogie of similitude in this sacrament. But if I should beleue that the substance of bread and wine is cleane gone, and though before consecration the substance remained, yet before I can receaue the sacrament, the substance is taken away, and there remaine nothing but accidentes: howe can I bee assured that my body is nourished by the outward elements, and so in like maner my soule by feeding on Christ? Thus by your doctrine of Transubstantiation, you ouerthrow both the nature and vse of the sacrament, & would spoile vs of the comfort and strengthening of our faith, which wee should haue by this notable comparison: the ground whereof resteth vpon the certaintie of nourishing our bodies with the substance of the elements.

Camp. Nay, nowe yee preache: I thought ye had come to dispute. Make a Syllogisme.

Goade. I open this more plainly for the edifying of the hearers, that they may the better see the fruite and comfort of your doctrine of transubstantiation.

Campion. I would I might appose: the aunient fathers are all on my side.

Fulke. Not any one of them, ye abuse the auditoie: if you can bring any thing, do it by writing, & I will answer you by writing.

Camp. Mine answer and assertion is, that we are fed by accidentes without substance, by that which is left, the quantitie and qualitie.

Goade. Can you shewe any ground or word for this?

Campion. This is word enough for me, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body,

Goade,

conference.

Goade, Those wordes doe nothing proue your assertion, as hath bene shewed.

Campion. I would I might be suffered to shewe my cardes, as you haue done yours.

Goade. Whatsoeuer you can shewe is well enough knowne, and hath bene shewed by others of your side, and is sufficiently answered.

Fulke. I reason thus. That which Christ gaue at his supper Argument 5.
was bread:

Ergo there remaineth bread in the sacrament.

Campion. I denie that it was bread in substance that he gaue, but onely in shewe.

Fulke. It was pieces of bread that he gaue:

Ergo it was bread.

Camp. He gaue not substantiall pieces.

Fulke. I neuer heard of accidental pieces. But Cyrillus saith, speaking of y^e sacrament, *Dedit eis fragmenta panis*, In Ioh. cap. 4. He gaue them pieces of bread,

But bread is substance:

Therefore he gaue them pieces of substance, or substantiall pieces.

Camp. It is all one, to giue pieces, and to giue bread:

The whole is not bread:

Ergo the pieces were not bread. It was consecrated bread.

Fulke. Howe answer you to Cyrillus, that said, he gaue them pieces of bread:

Camp. Every piece of bread is called bread: he speaketh after the common maner, because it was bread by appellation.

Fulke. What gaue hee? or whereof were those pieces but of bread?

Camp. He gaue pieces of bread in appellation. The Doctors acknowledge it to be no bread.

Fulke. That is verely false. The Doctors alwayes called it bread, and pieces of bread: and no Doctor within 600. yeres after Christ saide, that the accidentes of bread and wine onely did remaine, and not the substance.

Camp. I haue answered, and giuen three reasons before, why they called it so.

Fulke. You haue answered nothing: but you teache the Doctors to speake, Name one Doctor for five or six hundred yeres after

The third dayes

ter Christ, which saith that there remaineth no substance of bread in the sacrament, or so speaketh as you would expound them.

Campion. The Doctors say, that after consecration the bread is made the body of Christ.

Fulke. I beleue and confesse as much.

Campion. Then you must beleue that the substance of bread is turned into the body of Christ.

Fulke. It followeth not.

Campion. Master Doctor, if you feare not your cause, for charitie, answer me. I challenge you, that you can not answer the Doctors.

Fulke. It is not in me to giue you leaue to oppose. I come hether by commandement to oppose you: otherwise as I tolde you the last day, you are not the man whom I would take for my aduersarie.

Campion. I speake to you to bee a meane for me. I compare the cause with you, and not my person with you.

Fulke. I haue answered els where, what soeuer could be opposed by your betters, Helkins and Saunders: and neuer theles, if you can bring any thing that they haue omitted, put it in writing, and I will answer you, as I haue often said: therefore I will go forward. As Cyrillus calleth the sacraments pieces of bread: so Gelasius calleth it a portion of the holy body, as it is in the decrees cited by Gratian. *Comperimus autem, &c.* We haue found out of a certaintie, that certaine men after they haue receaued a portion of the holy body, do abstaine fro the cup of the holy blood, &c.

Camp. Now we shall haue an other disputation, whether the cup be necessarie for lay men.

Fulke. Though the communion vnder both kindes, be proued vnuincibly by that testimonie, yet I bring it onely to shewe that terme (a portion of the holy body) which saith that there remaineth bread which is broken, for the very body of Christ is not broken.

Campion. He calleth it a portion by a popular speache: because the signe being deuided, Christs body is in euery part of y^e bread, which is not bread in deede, but in apparance onely, and so seemeth so be deuided into sundrie parts.

Fulke. This answer of popular speache is with you *Tanquam Delphinus*.

conference.

Delphicus gladius, to auoid all authoritie that makes against you, be it neuer so plaine: but in deepe it is a figuratiue speech, not vled of the people.

Camp. Is not a figuratiue speech common and popular? They say we drinke the cup, &c. Therefore mine answer is, it is a popular kinde of speache, because when the signe is broken, the thing it selfe is said to be so.

Fulke. Doe the people say, the Lordes body is broken, when they meane that the accidents only are broken: such kind of speaking and meaning, is farre aboue the peoples capacitie.

Camp. The signes are broken, not the body of Christ it selfe.

Fulke. Againe, in that counterfeite Epistle ascribed to Clemens, which he should write vnto S. Iames, exhorting him that he should keepe the *Vir* diligently from miserie & putrefaction, he calleth the sacrament which is reserued, *Reliquias fragmentorum corporis Dominici*, The reliques of the fragments of our Lordes body, and *Puluis Dominici corporis*, the dust or small crummes of the Lordes body, and *fragmenta Dominici corporis*, and *fragmenta dominice portionis*. The fragments of the Lordes body, the fragments of the Lords portion. What are all these reliques, fragments, dust or crummes, but of bread?

Camp. All these remnants & breakings are in respect of the exterior forme of bread, an vnproper kinde of speech.

Fulke. These speeches are vnproper of the body of Christ, which cannot be broken: but they are proper of the bread, of the which Cyrillus speaketh plainly.

Camp. Proue you that the substance of bread remaineth, and not the accidents onely.

Fulke. I haue proued that the bread remaineth which is broken: and bread is substance: therefore substance remaineth.

Camp. The signe is broken, but not the bread.

Fulke. You shew your iudgement. We must take al your answers: when the bread is broken, the signes are broken.

Camp. I could make as good sport about y^e incarnation of Christ. Goad. It is no sporting matter: we are in earnest, and about weightie matters.

Fulke. These speeches may become a Iesuice, but are not seemly for a Christian. This is like your iugling tricke the other day, which ye said, belike Christ did play.

The third dayes

6, Argum.

Goade. I will now come to examine the ground, wherupon ye would build your transubstantiation: and I reason thus,

If the bread and wine be transubstantiate, then it is ground-
ed vpon some part of the Scripture:

But it is ground-
ed vpon no part thereof:

Ergo the bread and wine are not transubstantiat.

Camp. I deny your Minor, it is ground-
ed vpon some part.

Goade. If vpon any, then vpon the wordes of the institution,
This is my body:

But not vpon those wordes:

Ergo vpon no part of Scripture.

Camp. I deny your Minor, It is ground-
ed manifestly vpon those
wordes of Christ.

Goade. If vpon this place, then vpon y^e true sense of the wordes:

But not vpon the true sense:

Ergo not vpon this place.

Camp. It is ground-
ed both vpon y^e words, & the true sense also.

Goade. If vpon y^e true sense, the it is a plaine & a proper speache:

But it is not a proper speache:

Ergo not vpon the true sense.

Camp. It is a proper speache.

Goade. It is a figuratiue speache:

Ergo not a proper.

Camp. So farre forth as it is figuratiue, it is not proper. It
may be figuratiue and proper both.

Goade. This is straunge, but ye shall heare the iudgement of y^e
fathers, y^e it is merely figuratiue. Augustine epist. 23. in y^e wordes
before alleaged, maketh it a Metonymical speach, when by reason
of the neere similitude, the name of the thing it self is attributed to
the signe: which he saith is vsual in sacraments. So Circumcision
is called the Lordes couenant. So the Pascale lambe is called y^e
passeouer. The same Augustine vpon the 3. Psalme, *Christi mira-
da patientia adhibuit Iudam ad cōmuniū, in quo corporis & sangui-
nis sui figuram discipulis tradidit.* The great patience of Christ re-
ceaued Iudas vnto his feast, wherein he gaue a figure of his bod-
ie and blood vnto his disciples.

Camp. Wherefore being ye this, it is from y^e matter in questiō:
we spake euen now of proper speeches, this is not a proper argu-
ment to the matter.

Goade,

Gen. 17.
Exod. 12.

conference.

Goad. I am come to this point orderly to proue the speache to be figuratiue, and not proper, and now ye see your selfe brought in some streightnes, ye would drawe me back againe: but answere one place of Tertullian against Marcion lib. 4. Which doth notably expound the wordes of the Institution, to be figuratiuely spoken.

Camp. We shall then go to the forenoones question.

Goade. No, It serueth for the point wee are now come vnto, being verie weightie to expounde the wordes of the Institution, This is my body, Whereupon ye would build your transubstantiation. Belike you feare y^e place of Tertullia, & are loth to come to it.

Camp. I feare not, let vs heare it: we lacke a moderator.

Goad. I would we had one, wee shoulde then dispute more orderly. The wordes are: *Christus accepit panem, & distributum discipulis suis, corpus suū illud fecit, hoc est corpus meū dicendo, id est figura corporis mei, figura autem nō fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus.* The bread which Christ tooke & gaue to his disciples, he made his body, saying, this is my body, that is, a figure of my body, but it could not haue bene a figure, vnlesse Christ had a true body.

Camp. I answered your place of Tertullian, two wayes. First, for the vnderstanding of the people, and after, in respect of the learned. For the people thus. We had to do with y^e heretique Marcion, who denied that Christ had a true body. Tertullian proueth that Christ had a true body, because hee gaue a true body to his disciples, saying, this is my body. The wordes that follow, *Id est, figura corporis mei*, are not Tertullians, but are added by the Heretique, who would haue Christ to haue had but a figure or shew of a body, and not a true body: Tertullian saith to the heretique, Christ saith, this is my body, thou saiest a figure, admit it were a figure, yet it must be a figure of a true bodie.

Goade. You shew your selfe ignorant in this place of Tertullian, which is a knowne & familiar place: the whole wordes are Tertullians, & nothing at all here, added by the heretique Marcion: both the wordes & sense of Tertullian is plaine, consider better of them.

Camp. Tertullian tooke vpon him the person of the heretique, & maketh the obiectiō, which he thought y^e heretike would object.

Goad. You are greatly deceaued in this place of Tertullian, who reasoneth thus against Marcion very substantially, to proue y^e Christ had a true, & not a phantasticall body as Marcion supposed.

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That must needes haue a true bodie, whereof there is a figure:

But Christ in the institution of his supper, gaue a figure of his body, when he said, This is my body, that is, a figure of my body:

Ergo Christ hath a true body. This is Tertullians reason, as it appeareth in the next clause, *Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus*. But there could not be a figure of a body, except it had relation vnto a true body. And in the next words following, yet more plainly, *Cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non potest*. But an emptie or vaine thing, such as is a phantasme, can not be capable of a figure. Take the booke and peruse this place, ye shall finde it to be as I haue opened the minde of Tertullian.

Campion. I know the place, I made one answer before in respect of the people, now mine other answer is for the learned: that Tertullian vseth to alleage many harde and obscure places, and figures out of the old testament: he must be read with iudgement and great diligence: the words, *Id est figura*, are not in way of exposition, but of obiection.

Goade. You shew your skill in the fathers, This is not Tertullians exposition onely, but also Augustines, vpon the thirde Psalme before alleaged, and *Tom. 6.* against Adamantus. *Non dubitauit Dominus dicere hoc est corpus meum, quum signum daret corporis sui*. The Lord doubted not to say, this is my body, when he gaue a figure of his body.

Campion. Then belike ye woulde altogether exclude from the sacrament, Christ the substance, making him altogether absent, allowing onely of a bare signe in the sacrament.

Goade. The words are Augustines, that Christ gaue a signe of his body. Howbeit, we exclude not the substance, which is Christ him selfe, who together with the signe is receiued by faith of the godly, and so we make not a bare signe, but we say he is not vpon earth touching his body included in the sacrament.

Campion. It is wel knowen to the learned, that the signe excludeth not the thing signified.

Goade. I graunt: neither doe I exclude the thing. It is a sacramentall speache vsual (as hath bene said) in the Scriptures, to giue the name of the thing to the signe, for the similitude betweene both, and therefore must be sacramentally expounded, *propter similitudinem signi, & rei signata*.

Camp.

conference.

Campion. That maketh for me, that the signe hath the name of the thing.

Goade. Doth it make for you, that y^e signe is so termed *Secundū quendam modum*, after a certaine maner, as Augustine saith before, and yet simply is not so? The Sacrament is not the thing it selfe, but in a kinde of speech sacramentally: as Circumcision is said to be the couenant, which was not the couenant it selfe, but a signe thereof.

Campion. Make your argument.

Goade. Seeing ye will haue me make it into an argument, thus I reason.

It is vsuall in the Sacramentes, for the Scripture to speake figuratiuely, calling the signe by the name of the thing signified, as in Circumcision, Gene. 17, the Pascall Lambe, Exod. 12, and the rocke in the wilderness, 1. Cor. 10:

Therefore the like in this sacrament of the Lords supper.

Campion. I denie your argument, they are not alike.

Goade. I proue it. The same reason of Augustine from the analogie to take the name of the thing, holdeth in all sacraments: Ergo in this. And for example he bringeth this: *Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est*, Therefore as the Sacrament of Christs body, after a certaine maner is saide to be the body of Christ, &c. Also the very maner of speach in the other Sacraments is like, viz. of circumcision, This is my Couenant: of the Pascall, This is the Pascheouer, of the rocke, The rocke was Christ.

Camp. I say they are not like, for Christ was not naturally present in those sacraments of the olde Testament, as he is in this Sacrament.

Goade. You bring an instance by *Petito principij*, but Iouerthowe your particular instance by the generall.

The like vsuall speache is vsed in all Sacraments both of the olde and newe Testament:

Ergo in this sacrament of the Supper.

Camp. The speache & sense is this in the sacrament, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This that I see is my body, as the quāctitie & colour.

Goade. You answer not mine argument, I haue said enough for the true vnderstanding of these wordes, it must haue a sacra-

The third dayes

mentall sense. I leaue it vnto iudgement.

Camp. I graunt a sacramentall sense, so farre forth as goeth to colour. The fathers you alleadge, but those that I bring can not be answered.

Fulke. They haue bene, and may be, as time and occasion will serue: but nowe your lot is to answer. I will take away your common and onely answer.

Campion. I haue answered already.

Fulke. Your answer sheweth; that you vnderstande not the scope and purpose of Saint Augustine, which is to proue that this saying, *Anima est sanguis*, is such a kinde of speech, as this of the sacrament, This is my body. For these are his words: *Nam ex eo quod scriptum est, &c.* For of that which is written, that the blood of a beast is the soule of it, beside that which I said before, that it pertaineth not vnto me what becometh of y^e soule of a beast, I can also interpret this commandement to be made in a signe: for our Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gaue the signe of his body. Here you see, Augustine hauing disputatio with the heretique Adimantus, which helde that the blood of a beast was the soule thereof, affirmeth that the blood is but a signe of the soule, as the sacrament is a signe of the body of Christ: and yet is called the soule, as the other is called the body of Christ.

Campion. You are answered already.

Fulke. This is your common answer: You are answered already, and you haue answered your selfe, when you haue none other shift. You vnderstand neuer a place of the Doctors, that hath bene yet alleadged.

Campion. Twentie yerres agoe I haue read this booke.

Fulke. I do not beleue that euer you read it, you are so ignorant of the argument of it. But sure I am, that xx. yerres agoe you had not read it. You would seeme to be another student in Diuinitie then you are, by a great deale.

M. Norton. Where were you Campion, twenty yerres agoe? were you not a poore boy in the hospitall?

Camp. I was two and twentie yerres olde, and then I was Bachelor of Art.

Fulke. You might reade that place noted out by some other, but the whole worke of the autor you read not.

Campion.

conference.

Camp. I did not say that I had then read his whole worke.

Fulke. It is not a dosen yeres ago, since I heard you at Garbrandes staule in Drenforde aske for Irenæus Epistles, wherein you shewed that you were but a yong reader of the Doctors at that time.

Camp. Peraduenture I might aske for Irenæus workes.

Fulke. Nay, you asked for Irenæus Epistles, and namely, that to Victor.

Campion. Why might I not, hauing read in Eusebius of his Epistle to Victor, aske of the Stationer, whether that Epistle were extant?

Fulke. I deny not but you might: but yet that argueth that you were but a yong man in the Doctors, that knewe not what workes of Irenæus were extant. But howe answered you to Saint Augustine?

Campion. I answered, Saint Augustine sayth, that *Sanguis* is a signe of the soule present, as the bread is a signe of the bodie of Christ being present.

Fulke. Saint Augustine sayth, that the blood doth onely signifie the soule, and is not the substance of the soule: but you utterly destroy his argument, and so, helpe the heretique very well.

Camp. The heretique thoughte it was an absurditie, that *Sanguis* being eaten, *anima* is eaten. Augustine sheweth, because *Sanguis* is a principal part of life, it is called the vitall blood, &c. Like as this *Sanguis* is a token that *Anima* is neere, so the signe of the bread is a token that Christ is neere.

Fulke. You go quite from the matter. The question was not whether the blood be a signe of the soule, but whether it bee the soule it selfe.

Campion. Let it be noted: why is blood called *Anima*, but because *Anima* is neere it, & because it exerciseth his functions therein? So he gaue bread, that was a signe of his body present. The question was neuer, whether the blood were the substance of the soule, but whether the blood being eaten, the soule were eaten? Therefore in that saying of Saint Augustine, Christ doubted not to say he gaue his body, when he gaue a signe of his body: there, signe, is a token of his presence.

Fulke. That is a meere fallacion: signe a token of presence, as
blood

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blood a signe that *Anima* is neere: *Augustine* is cleare, that the blood is not the soule, but a signe thereof: as that which *Christ* gaue, was not his bodie, but a signe thereof. Or els the heretique had his purpose, in saying, y^e eating of blood, is eating of soules.

Campion. I must not eate his blood.

Fulke. You haue many words to no purpose in the world.

Campion. Why is a mans hayne called his witte? It were reason y^e I also should haue my course sometimes to oppose, and you to answer: which if it fell so forth, I doubt not but I could vye you as well in these matters, as you do me: and drine you also to narrowe shifts, in the defence, howe *Christ* tooke flesh of the virgine *Marie*.

Fulke. To take vpon me the person of an answerer, is not my choyse and yours: as also the place of opponant, which I nowe susteine, was not sought for by me. And to graunt that which you nowe require, resteth in the superior powers.

Camp. Well then, vse the helpe of your friends to sue for obtaining of the same. For, if you or the like were in Catholique cities, that I know, and did but once signifie your desire in the like case, free disputation and conference would out of hand be procured. And I in my defence challenge you here, if you dare, to answer to such poynts as I shall obiect against you.

Fulke. I will make no suite for the matter, neither are you the man whom I would choose mine aduersarie, to matche my selfe withall.

Camp. In deede, I thinke to obtaine that suite, would not be for your aduantage.

Fulke. Thinke of your selfe as highly as you list, yet when you haue reckened all, your gaine will be litle or nothing. I will come to mine argument.

The elements go not from their nature and substance:

Ergo there is no transubstantiation.

Campion. I deny your Antecedent.

Fulke. I proue it by authoritie of *Theodoret* Dialog. 2. *Neg, enim signa mystica post sanctificationem recedunt a natura sua. Manent enim in priori substantia, figura, & forma, & videri & tangi possunt sicut prius.* For the mysticall signes after sanctification doe not go from their nature. For they remayne in their former sub-

stance

stance, shape, and forme, they may both be seene and touched, as before.

Campion. And were he is so to be understood, as he may confound the heretique, with whom he is to dispute.

Fulke. Very well, and for that purpose he saith, the nature of the signes remaineth, to proue that the nature of Christs humanitie remaineth after the assumption.

Campion. Nature is not taken for substance.

Fulke. Theodoret saith, they remaine also in their former substance.

Campion. He speaketh popularly, hee must not be taken so strictly. The word substance is often times taken for being, therefore it must not be here taken for a speciall substance, but generice, for a generall being.

Fulke. Then it would followe, that the proper substance of Christs body remaineth not, but a generall being thereof.

Campion. The heretique graunted that Christ had a body, but he said it was a phantasticall body, and not a true body.

Fulke. And your answer will helpe the heretike very well. As the signes remaine not in their proper substances, but in a generall being or accidents: so the humanitie of Christ after it was assumed by the Diuinitie, was absorpt of the same. But Theodoret against the Eutichean, by the similitude of the mystical signes remainyng in their nature and substance after sanctification, proueth the veritie of Christs humanitie after his incarnation.

Campion. You must not presse the similitude so: substance is taken generally for being.

Fulke. You were best to say as Saunders worth, that substance is taken for the bulke of the body, though there be no body.

Campion. I say it is an improper speech.

Fulke. If euer we must speake properly, we must do it when we dispute against heretiques, as Theodoret do.

Campion. I haue answered: by substance he meaneth a being, and such haue accidents.

Fulke. That answer wil not stand with Theodorets words. For Christ hath not now those accidents with the which hee was incarnate, but the same substance. You shall heare the argument

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argument of Epanister the heretique. As the symbols of the bodie and blood of our Lord are one thing before innocation, and after innocation are changed and made other things: so the Lordes body after the assumption, is changed into the diuine substance. But Theodoret telleth him, that he is taken with his owne nette. For the mysticall signes depart not from their nature, but abide in their former substance, forme and shape. Here you see he speaketh both of substance and accidents.

Campion. I graunt, so farre forth as it made against the heretique.

Fulke. But it maketh not against the heretique, vnlesse transubstantiation be denied.

Campion. Yes, it maketh against the heretique, that the bread being turned into the very bodie of Christ, prooueth that Christ had a true body.

Fulke. You doe open violence to the place. His argument is not of the bodie of Christ, to prooue his humanitie: but by the remainyng of the mysticall signes in their former substance and accidents, to proue the perfit remainyng of Christes humanitie after his incarnation.

Campion. Euery argument vsed by the Fathers, must not bee pressed farther then their purpose, which was to confounde heretiques.

Fulke. But herewithal is his minde expessed against the heresse of transubstantiation.

Camp. I graunt it doth cary some suspicion against transubstantiation, but it doeth not make against it.

Fulke. He could not more plainly haue spoken against it, then to say, the nature and substance, forme and shape remaineth in the bread and wine after sanctification.

Campion. He is to be vnderstood, that the substance doeth remaine in vacuitate sed tamen quantitate & qualitate &c.

Fulke. Euery man may see howe seely shifts you be diuened vnto, and howe farre you rouse from that auncient fathers meaning. I will presse you with another authoritie.

Goade. I will inge you with an other argument out of the same author, whereby his iudgement shall appeare in moe places then one, that he is flat against transubstantiation: his wordes are these,

Aburde:
Substance
must be in a
certaine va-
cant or voyde
emprines, and
yet forsooth
in quantitie
and qualitie.
§. Argumēt.

these dialog. i. qui dicitur Immutabilis. *Volobat enim eos qui sunt diuinorum mysteriorum participes, non attendere naturam eorum que videntur, sed propter nominum permutationem, mutationem que fit ex gratia, credere. Qui enim quod natura corpus est, strictione & panem appellauit, & vitem rursus seipsum nominauit, in symbola & signa que videntur, appellatione corporis & sanguinis honorauit: non naturam quidem mutans, sed nature gratiam adiciens.* For he would haue those which are partakers of the diuine mysteries, not to regard the nature of those things that are seene, but for the change of the names, to beleue that change which is made by grace, For he which called that which by nature is his body, corne & bread, and againe called himselfe a vine, euen he did honor the symbols & signes which are seene, with the name of his body and blood: not chaunging nature, but adding grace vnto nature. Out of which wordes I reason thus.

The symbols and signes remaine in their owne nature after they be consecrate:

Ergo there is no transubstantiation.

Campion. In great and weightie matters they are forced to vse these termes, he speaketh *generice* generally, not strictly,

Goade. You answered nothing to the place reade the wordes, and consider them better. He speaketh plainly, and in speciall of the nature and substance of the sacrament still remaining.

Camp. I haue answered before, that by nature he meaneth the exterior forme, as accidents and qualities.

Goade. By nature it is plaine he meaneth the very substance: for he doeth confound these two, as appeared in his other place before alleadged. *Non recedunt a natura sua, manent enim in prioris substantia.* They leaue not their nature, for they abide in their former substance. When you finde the worde nature sometime in the fathers, & seemeth to make for your transubstantiation, then you triumph, then you vige the worde that it must needs signifie substance. Now when the same worde is viced against you out of Theodoret, and the same Theodoret explaining also himselfe, that he meaneth the very substance of bread and wine, yet it must bee nothing but qualite and accidents.

Camp. When the coherence of the place peeled it, then we say it must signifie the substance. It can not alwayes be taken for

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the substance. For I pray you, is not heate the nature of the fire? yet it is not the substance of the fire.

Goade. Heate is a propertie of the fire. But what is this to the answering of Theodorets place, where both the coherence and his owne exposition, doeth shewe it to be all one with the substance?

Campion. I haue answered, the substantiall part doeth not remayne.

Goade. Then I see, we shal haue none other answer to Theodoret. I will proue hoine you will answer Iustinus Martyr, in his Apologic.

Campion. These Doctors were great Philosophers, and therefore no maruaile though sometime they speake as they were wont.

Goade. The substance of bread and wine remaineth: Ergo they are not chaunged.

Campion. It doeth not remayne.

Goade. That which nourisheth the body, remaineth:

But the substance of bread and wine nourisheth the body:

Ergo the substance of bread and wine remayneth.

Campion. This is answered already. When the substance is present, it nourisheth by the qualitie.

Goade. But the qualitie can by no meanes nourish without the substance.

Campion. The qualitie nourisheth alone, if it can bee there without substance.

Goade. But it can not be there without a subject. Now consider the wordes of Iustinus in 2. Apologia. *Non enim ut communem panem aut communem potum hac accipimus, sed quemadmodum Iesus Christus seruatur noster per verbum Dei factus caro, & carnem & sanguinem nostra salutis causa habuit: sic etiam cibum illius, postquam per precationem verbi illius fuerit benedictus, ex quo sanguis & caro nostra per mutationem nutriuntur, edocli sumus esse carnem & sanguinem illius. &c.* For we doe not receiue these things as comon breade & comon drinke, but as Iesus Christ our sauour, being made flesh by the worde of God, had both flesh & blood for our saluation: so also we are taught, that that meate, after it is sanctified by prayer of the word, by which

meate

conference.

meate our flesh and blood is by chaunge thereof nourished, is the flesh and blood of him.

Camp. The accidentes alone wheresoeuer they be, they may nourish.

Goad. You speake against learning, reason, & sense. Will you say, that accidentes without substance, can nourish our blood and flesh?

Camp. That is, *physica quadam ratione*, naturally it can not be: but where there is a miracle supernaturall, the miracle being granted, the other followeth.

Goad. But your imagined miracle is denied, and it hath bene shewed out of Augustine, that there is no wonder in the sacramentes. This is an easie answer to all arguments, when ye haue nothing els, then to say it is a miracle: and this is your common answer.

Camp. When the substance is present, the qualitie nourisheth. I would this question might be handled in the Uniuersitie.

Fulke. You would faine be remoued, but it lieth not in vs to remoue you. Gelasius against Eutiches, writeth thus: *Certe sacramenta quae sumimus corporis & sanguinis Christi, diuina res est, propter quod, & per eadem, diuina efficimur consortes natura, & tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis & vini. Et cetera imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Christi, in actione mysteriorum corporis Christi celebratur. &c.* The sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we receiue, are a diuine thing, and therefore by them we are made partakers of the diuine nature, & yet the substance, or nature of the bread & wine ceaseth not to be. And surely a similitude or image of the body and blood of Christ is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. Therefore, it is shewed vnto vs evidently enough, that we must iudge the same thing true in our Lord Christ him selfe which wee professe, celebrate and receiue in that which is an image of him: that as by the working of the holy Ghost, these things passe into a diuine substance, and yet abide still in the proprietie of their owne nature: euen so the same principall mysterie doeth shewe that one Christ, whose efficientie and carueth it doeth truly represent vnto vs, abideth whole & true, those things of which he consisteth properly, still remaining. What say you to this plaine testimonie of Gelasius, who saith, the sub-

Argument 9.

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Stance of the bread and wine remaineth.

Campion. Make your argument.

Fulke. I haue made it already.

The substance of the bread and wine remaineth:

Ergo there is no transubstantiation.

Campion. I denie your Antecedent.

Fulke. The wordes of Gelasius proueth it.

The substance of bread and wine departeth not:

Ergo it remaineth.

Camp. Gelasius and Theodoret haue one answer: in the mysteries, which are the bodie of Christ, there remaineth that which appeareth bread and wine.

Fulke. Gelasius saith, the substance of bread and wine remaineth, and not the appearance only: and so saith Theodoret.

Campion. I tolde you they meane to proue that there is not a third thing, as a phantasticall body, but one Christ, God and man.

Fulke. This is nothing to the purpose. The substance of the bread and wine ceaseth not to be in the sacrament: for your credit sake, answer to the authoritie, Gelasius was a Pope, hee coulde not erre.

Camp. The substance of the bread and wine remaineth, that is, the being.

Fulke. Euen now, you denied my Antecedent, and now you graunt it: you go backward and forward. In deede you knowe not what to say.

Camp. His answer is, substance is taken for being.

Fulke. What being, a generall being?

Camp. Such a being, as is in all the predicamentes.

Fulke. Ergo the sacrament is a transcendent.

Camp. I denie the argument.

Fulke. The bread and wine are the sacrament:

Bread and wine are transcendent:

Ergo the sacrament is a transcendent.

Camp. The being of them both after consecration, is a transcendent: the bread is a sacrament, as it is a signe,

Fulke. Take the sacrament for a signe, and then you will say, it is a transcendent, which is in all predicamentes. I pray you what remaineth?

Campion.

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Campion. *Aliquid* the signes of bread and wine.

Fulke. *Hoc aliquid nihil est.* There remaineth the substance of bread and wine, saith Gelasius, that is to say, the accidentes, as you expound him. By like reason you may expounde him by white, to meane blacke, by hoate, colde: you might as well say, when hee speaketh of God, hee meaneth the deuill, by such monstrous interpretations, all heresies may be defended.

Camp. Your arguments carie a shew, because you reason physically: but we must not be led by senses in these misteries.

Fulke. A reason truely: and trueth is able to stande with all true sciences against all gainsaies.

Goad. There remaineth the substance of one of the elements:

Ergo there remaineth the substance of both.

10. Argument.

Camp. There remaineth substance in neither.

Goade. The substance of the wine remaineth:

Ergo of the one.

Camp. Wine doeth not remaine substantiallyly.

Goade. *Cyprian epist. 3. ad Caelitum. Dico vobis non bibam a modo ex ista creatura vitis, vsq; in diem illum quo vobiscum bibam novum vitium in regno patris mei. Qua in parte inuenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem Dominus obtulit, & vinum fuisse quod sanguinem suum dixit.* I say vnto you, I will not drinke hereafter of this creature of the vine, vntill the day that I shal drinke it new with you in the kingdome of my father. In which parte, we finde the cup which the Lord offered, to be mixed, and that it was wine which he called his blood. By these wordes it appeareth that wine remaineth. He saith, we finde that it was wine &c.

Campion. His intent is to proue that Christ did consecrate in wine, and so must we do: he doth not call it wine after consecration.

Goade. I proue that his meaning is after consecration, as Christ him selfe doth call it, whose wordes he doth recite.

He saith, it was wine which he offered, and called his blood:

But he did not offer and call it his blood till after consecration:

Therefore it was wine after consecration.

Campion. That is, hee tooke wine to make it his blood, and when he tooke it, it was wine: he saith not, that when Christ did offer it, it was wine.

Goade. He saith that it was wine, which he called his blood, & he did not call it his blood before consecration, I leaue the place to the

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the iudgement of the learned. I will farther confirme this out of Irenæus. There remaineth an earthly substance after consecration.

Ergo there is not transubstantiation.

Camp. There doth not remaine any substance.

Goade. Heare his wordes, Iren. aduer. hereses lib. 4. cap. 34.

Iam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constituta, terrena & celesti. Celeste hac quidnam est? Dominus Iesus. Terrestre autem quid? panis qui ex terra est, quique corpora nostra pascit quemadmodum reliqui panes. Nowe it is not common bread, but the Euchariste consisting of two things, one earthly, and the other heauenly. This heauenly what is it? the Lorde Iesus. And what is the earthly? bread which is of the earth, and which doth feede our body as other bread doth.

Camp. He saith the sacrament consisteth of two things. There be nine predicaments beside that of substance, and this word *Res*, or thing, may be in them all, and they may bee all saide to be earthly things.

Goade. You can not so shift of Irenæus plaine wordes. I will proue that *Res*, in this place, must needes signifie a substance.

Sacramentes consist of two substances, the one earthly, and the other heauenly:

Therefore, it must needes be understoode of substance.

Campion. I deny that they consist of two substances: they consist of two things.

Goade. You will graunt that Christ the inuisible grace, is one substance: and so that part of the sacrament which is heauenly, is a substance. The earthly part, namely the elementes of bread and wine, remaine also in their proper substance: for as Irenæus saith, the bread is of the earth, and doeth nourish our bodies, as other bread doeth.

Campion. It is inough to consist of two things: of Christ, and the grace of Christ. An euill man may receiue Christ, but not the grace of Christ.

Goade. Do you make the two things to bee Christ and his grace: the one of these two must be earthly, according to Irenæus. And it hath bene confuted before, that the wicked can not eate Christ: for whosoever is partaker of Christ, must also be partaker of his spirit and grace.

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Campion. I say that the wicked may receaue Christ, yet to their condemnation, when they receaue that part of the sacramēt which Irenæus calleth the thing earthly, being not the substance, but the accidents.

Goade. The wicked receaue the sacrament, the thing earthly, to their condemnation: but Christ they receaue not. I haue before proued that by the earthly thing must needes bee vnderstoode the substance: but ye are much beholding to accidentes and miracle, they haue helped you well to daye, when yee had nothing els to answere.

Fulke. Irenæus calleth the sacrament a sacrifice. I thinke you like the phrase in regard of your masse, but he saith, it was such a sacrifice as doth not sanctifie the offerer. lib. 4. cap. 34.

Therefore it was bread and wine.

Camp. You say that it is a sacrifice, so it is in deede: but hee meaneth by the offerer, Christ which doth sanctifie, not man.

Fulke. He meaneth cleane cōtrary, you shall heare him speake: he meaneth man.

Campion. Man is also the offerer, after a sort.

Fulke. You hurt your selfe, because you will not heare the place, but take vpon you to answere you knowe not to what. His wordes are (speaking of the sacrament) *Igitur sacrificia non sanctificant hominem, non enim indiget sacrificio Deus: sed conscientia eius qui offert sanctificat sacrificium pura existens, & prestat acceptare Deum quasi ab amico.* Therefore the sacrifices do not sanctifie the man, for God needeth no sacrifice: but the conscience of him that offereth being pure, sanctifieth the sacrifice, & causeth God to accept it as of a friend. Hereof I inferre:

That which y conscience of mā must sacrifice, is bread & wine:

Therefore the sacrifice is bread and wine.

Campion. He meaneth, except the conscience of the offerer be pure, it sanctifieth not the man.

Fulke. Not onely that, but hee saith the pure conscience doeth sanctifie the sacrifice.

But no mans conscience doth sanctifie the body of Christ:

Therefore the sacrifice of bread and wine, are not the body of Christ.

Camp. The pure conscience maketh it an holy sacrifice to

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him that offereth, but otherwise it is holy of it selfe.

Fulke. Irenæus affirmeth, that the sacrifice hath no sanctification, but of the pure conscience of the offerer.

Campion. If that be wanting, it signifieth not the man that is holy.

Fulke. But if his conscience be neuer so pure, it sanctifieth not the bodie of Christ:

Therefore there is no way for you to escape.

Goad. If there bee transubstantiation, then Christ is really present in his true body:

12. Argum. But Christ is not really present in his true body:

Ergo there is not transubstantiation.

Camp. Christ is really present in his true body.

Goad. He is not present in his sensible body:

Therefore not in his true body.

Campion. I deny your argument.

Goad. It is the argument of our Sauour Christ, who neither deceiueth, nor can be deceiued, Luk. 24. 39. See my handes and my feete that it is I, handle me, and see, &c. Here Christ pro-ueth his true body to be present by the senses of seeing and handling, as reasoning thus:

You see and feele my body:

Therefore I am present in my true body.

And it is not a spirite as you feare: as, if he could not haue bene seene and handled, then not to be beleueed to be his true body.

Camp. The argumēt of Christ is good. The body that might be felt, must needs be a true body. The body of Christ is alwayes sensible, but he doth whē it pleaseth him, withdraw this proprietie.

Goad. Then by our Sauour Christes reason, we may doubt of the truth of his body.

Camp. It is said of Christ, that he vanished out of their sight, yet his body was visible. And can not Christ bee present now without our seeing him?

Goad. He was taken out of their sight, and then howe could they see him? but you say his body is present with vs. Will you chalenge more vnto you then Christ him selfe doth? It pleased Christ to be iudged by our senses, touching the presence of his body, our senses do see, feele, smell and taste nothing but bread.

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Campion. Christes pleasure is enough: did the souldiers see him rise out of his sepulchre?

Goad. It pleased the Lorde to holde their eyes, they being astonished for feare: so when he holdeth our eyes, it is true that wee can not vse this sense.

Campion. Then his body may be insensible to vs if he will, & yet he in him selfe is alwayes sensible: so the cause of not seeing him, is in him, and not in mine eye.

Goad. Yea, if our eyes were holden that we could not see: but it is manifest that the Apostles knewe nothing of this doctrine of reall presence in the sacrament before Christes resurrection. For if they had bene taught before in the institution, that Christ was present in the sacrament in his naturall bodie, and yet they sawe and handled nothing els but bread, this argument now after his resurrection drawn from their senses, had bene of small force.

Campion. We haue heard mine answer, though now it pleased him to shew him selfe palpable, yet there may bee impediment in him, and also in vs, why this is not alwayes so. Here was no miracle when Christ did thus shewe him selfe, but Christ wilbe present in the sacrament miraculoussly.

Goad. Let vs ende with prayer. Wee pelse thee humble thanks most gracious God and merciful father, that it hath pleased thee to call vs to the knowledge and profession of thine everlasting trueth reuealed in thine holy worde: and although it bee the lotte & condition of the same trueth, alwayes to haue aduersaries and gainsayers, that set themselves against the cleare light of thy word: yet we beseech thee so to establish and confirme our faith in the knownen trueth, that we be neuer offended by reason of errors and heretiques, knowing that as there hath bene alwayes amongst thy people, so there wilbe still false prophets, which piously shall bring in damnable heresies: yea there must be heresies in the Church, that they which are approued, may be knownen. But rather, O Lord, by this meanes stirre vs by the more to study and meditate in thy lawe. And specially vouchsafe to worke in our heartes a greater measure of zeale and loue towards thy trueth, seeing that of thy iust iudgement thou vbest to sende strong delusions, that they should beleue lyes, which woulde not receiue the loue of thy trueth. And amongst the multitude of those that wan-

2. Pet. 2.

1. Cor. 11.

2. Thess. 2.

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der in blindnes and errour, wee beseeche thee in thy good time, so many of them as pertaine vnto thy kingdome, of thy mercie to conuert, and the rest that are obstinate against thy trueth and glorie, of thy iust iudgement to confounde: and finally to breake the might of Sathan by the power of our Lord Iesus Christ, to whome with thee and the holy spirit, be all glorie now and euer. Amen,

William Fulke.
Roger Goade.

A remembrance of the conferences had in the Tower of London, betwixt M.D. Walker, and M. Wil- liam Charke opponents, & Edmund Campion Iesuite respondent, the 27. of September, 1581. as followeth,

1. Whether the Scriptures containe sufficient doctrine The questions
for our saluation.
2. Whether faith onely iustificeth,

MAfter Charke beganne the action with
this godly prayer, but Campion resis-
ting to pray with them, betcrossed him-
selfe on the forehead, breastes, and other
partes, after his superstitious maner.

Our helpe is in the name of the
Lord, who hath made heauen and earth.
O eternall God and most mercifull fa-
ther, we thy seruantes doe humbly ac-
knowledge, that we are by nature miserable sinners, full of darke-
nesse and errour, without thee neither meete to receiue the loue,
nor able to yeelde the obedience of thy trueth. Therefore wee
beseech thee in Iesus Christ, to throw all our sinnes into the bot-
tome of the sea, & to chase away all our darkenes with the bright-
nesse of thy wisdom, that we may growe vp in the knowledge,
in the loue, and in the obedience of thy most holy will. And because
we are here assembled to maintaine thy trueth against the errour
and superstition of Antichrist, vouchsafe, O Lord our God, to be
present in this action by thy holy spirit, and so sanctifie our hearts
and gouerne our tongues, that our corrupt affections being sup-
pressed, all things may be done in a godly zeale for thy trueth, and
nothing

The fourth dayes

nothing against it. Moreover, for those that are come to heare, graunt that as many as loue thy Gospell, may be more and more confirmed in the knowledge thereof, by that which shalbe faithfully deliuered out of thy holy worde: such as be otherwise minded, wee pray thee that they may peeble either to the manifest trueth, if they appertayne to thy holy election: or being none of thine, that they may appeare guilte and conuicted of a lying spirit, such as is gone out into the worlde to deceiue those that will not receiue the loue of thy trueth, but delight in darkenesse. These things, O Lord, and whatsoeuer thou knowest to be good for vs, we aske in the name of Iesus Christ, and by that forme of prayer, which he hath taught vs. Our Father, &c.

After the prayer was ended, M. D. Walker entred with this peface.

Walker. Gentlemen, ye shal vnderstande, that we be sent hither by authoritie, to talke & conferre with one called Campion, an English man bozne, and brought vp in this realme in schooles & places where good learning hath bene taught, so that he might haue bene a good instrument in this common wealth and Gods Church: but contrary to his bringing vp, his friendes expectation, & hope that this Church might haue concealed of him, like an vnnaturall man to his countrey, degenerated from an English man, an Apostata in religion, a fugitiue from this realme, vnloyal to his Prince, hath not onely fled from the man of Rome, an aduersarie to Christ and his doctrine: but hath gotten a courage from that Romaniste with certaine other his sectaries, to come into this realme againe, to vndermine the Gospell of Christ, to seduce Gods people, and withdrawe her Maiesties lawfull subiectes to disobedience and sedition, and hath bene (disguised in Ruffians apparel) in diuers places of this realme, to plant secretly that blasphemous Masse and other Poperie, wherunto it appeareth hee hath allured many vnstable fooles: and in Yorkeeshire, where his Sectaries & disciples are apprehended & iustly imprisoned, nowe they rage (as I heare say) and curse him that euer he came there. So ye see what manner of mā we are to talke withal. What good we shall do with him, the Lord doeth knowe, other manner of men then we are, and of another calling, were more meete to talke with him then we: notwithstanding, we will doe our best that we can.

God

conference.

God giue it good effect. As for you, Campion, I heare say, that you vse to scoffe and iest at such as come to conferre with you: we come not for that purpose, it is not our profession, yet I giue you warning, *Si quam maledicendo cæperis voluptatem, eam male audiendo amittes.*

Now to the question, which is, that the scriptures containe all things sufficient to saluation, against the assertion of your booke: For you say that the Lutherans haue cut off many bookes from the body of the new Testament, and so diuided them from the Canonickall scripture, which is not true.

Camp. Yes that they haue, and therein they haue done euill.

Walker. Here Master Walker reade the wordes out of Campions challenge.

Campion. Luther hath cut off the Epistle of Iames, the second epistle of Iohn, Iude, and the seconde of Peter. Luther hath found fault with these, and improued them in his prefaces vpon those Epistles.

Walker. Luther hath not doubted of them himselfe, but shewed that others haue doubted of them.

Campion. It is one thing to doubt, an other thing to cut off. Bring me the bookes, and I will shewe that he hath cut them off.

Walker. That can not bee shewed, if the bookes were here: For the Doctors doe not agree, concerning these bookes that are of the Canon. Some recite more, & some recite lesse, as Origen, Hierome, and others, and yet it were hard to say, that they cut off any of the Canonickall bookes. They doe, as Luther may, shewe what bookes were doubted of in their time, and yet no whitte preiudice the bookes of the Canonickall Scripture.

Campion. Well, I say whatsoeuer they might doe then, yet now seeing the Church hath otherwise determined, it is blasphemie for any to doubt of them. The Lutherans doe doubt of them: bring me the bookes, and I will shewe where Luther doubteth, and therefore blasphemeth, because the Church hath taken away the doubt: videlicet, the third Councill of Carthage, and that of Laodicea.

Walker. I do not professe my selfe a Lutheran, but a Christian. But if olde fathers and olde Councils haue not receiued these bookes for Canonical and bookes to ground our faith vpon, then

A prouerbial speech signifying thus much: If you take any pleasure in speaking euill, you shall lose it in hearing euill.

can

The fourth dayes

can not new men, nor the Tridentine Council (being full of errors) make the Canonickall, August. de doct. Christ. lib. 2. ca. 8. leaucth out Baruch, & the two last bookes of Esdras. Hieronymus praef. in li Reg. *Huc prologū galeatū principū vocat.* He saith, *Igitur Sapientia quae vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, & Iesu filij Syrach liber, & Iudith, & Tobias, & pastor, nō sunt in Canone. Macchabaeorū primū librū Hebraicū reperi, secūdus Gracus est, quod ex ipsa phrasi probari potest. Eusebius alio ecclesiast. lib. 6. cap. 18. fol. 368. & sequentibus, omittit tertium & quartū Esdra, Tobia, Iudith, Baruch, Sapientia, Ecclesiastici, Machabaeorum libros. Paulo post: De eo (inquit) qui est apud Hebraeos nonnulli dubitauerunt. &c. Sed ego dico sicut mihi à maioribus traditum est, quia manifestissime Pauli est. Ibi de secunda Petri Epistola à nonnullis dubitatur. De duabus ultimis Iohannis Epistolis apud quosdā dubia sententia.* He omitteth in the forenamed place the third & fourth booke of Esdras, the bookes of Tobie, Iudith, Baruch, of Wisdome, of Ecclesiasticus, & of the Macchabees. A litle after: Concerning that (saith he) which is written to the Hebrues, many haue doubted: but I say as hath bene deliuered vnto mee from mine Elders, because it appeareth most manifestly to be of Paules. There also, concerning the second Epistle of Peter, he sayth, that it was doubted of many: and so with some were the two last Epistles of Iohn. *The same Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 26. loquens de Melitone Episcopo Sardenis Ecclesie, qui recitans volumina veteris Testamenti, omittit Esdras, Tobia, Hester, Iudith, Baruch, Sapientia, Syrach, Macchabaeorum. &c.* Speaking of Melito the Bishop of the Church of Sardis, who reckening vp the volumes of the olde Testament, he omitteth Esdras, Tobie, Hester, Iudith, Baruch, Wisdome, Syrach, the bookes of the Macchabees, &c. And the Laodicean Council omitteth Lukes Gospel & the Apocalyps. You see therefore that these old fathers haue left these bookes out of the Canon, and yet were they neither called heretiques, nor blasphemers.

Campion. It is not lawfull to cut off the bookes of the olde Testament from the Canon: which not onely, as I haue sayd, Luther hath done, but also Caluine. The one hath reiecteth those bookes I haue named, and the other reiecteth the bookes of Tobie, Ecclesiasticus, the booke of Wisdome, the bookes of Macchabees, Baruch, and the like, which are *de sincero Canone.*

Walker.

conference.

Walker. What is this to that I haue saide? I haue shewed that the olde Doctours haue refused them for Canonically, and therefore so many may we refuse: and they themselues will be no further admitted then they agree with the Canonically Scriptures: and these booke which you name, haue alwayes bin esteemed Apocrypha. Augustin. contra Maximinum Arrianorum Episcopum lib. 2. Cap. 14. *Nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense tanquam praiudicatum proferre Concilium: nec ego huius autoritate, nec tu istius debueris: Scripturarum autoritatibus non quorumcumq; proprijs, sed utrisq; communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet &c.* August. against Maximinus the Bishop of the Arrians. Neither oughtest thou to bring the Council of Arimine, nor I the Nicene, as it were to preiudice the truth: neither should I be holden with the authoritie of this, nor thou of that: but let it be tryed by the authoritie of the Scriptures, not the proper witnesses of any, but common to both, let matter with matter, cause with cause, and reason with reason trye it, &c. And Hierome writing to Leta de institutione filiz, fol. 58. willet, not to reade some without doubting, and other some warily: but he sayth, *Caveas omnia Apocrypha*, Let her beware of all the Apocrypha, (which hee named in Prologo Galeato.) *Et si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem, sed ad signorum reverentiam legere volueris, sciat non eorum esse quorum titulis prenotantur, multaque his admixta vitiosa, & grandis esse prudentia aurum in luto querere.* And if at any time shee will reade them, not for the truth of opinions, but for the reverence of signes, let her knowe that they are not theirs whose titles they beare, but that many vitious things are mixt with them, and that it is a point of great wisdom to seeke out golde in dirt. Loe, here you see that he biddes her to beware in the readding of them.

Campion. The Scripture is principally to be admitted: but I would we might haue an argument.

Walker. Then thus I reason.

That which hee biddeth to beware of, is not to be holden authentically:

But he biddeth to beware of the Apocrypha:

Ergo the Apocrypha is not to be holden authentically.

Aa. i.

Camp.

The fourth dayes

Camp. Apocrypha are taken two wayes. First, for those bookes which are doubted of: and then, for such bookes that are not allowed. Such were þe prophetic of Enoch, Iacobs testament and such like, which he calleth *Somniolenta deliramenta, vitiosa*, &c. of those Hierome speaketh in this place, and not of those others. For what point is there in Ecclesiasticus, the booke of Wisdome, that is to be found fault with þe is *vitiosus*, and not good?

Walker. They are called Apocrypha, that are not in the Canon receiued and allowed to haue proceeded vndoubtedly from the holy Ghost: these Apocrypha are forbidden to be read. And Hierome in prafat. in lib. Reg. saith, *Hic prologus scripturarum &c. Si quid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha est ponendum &c.* They are not in the Canon: therefore Apocrypha are onely to be read.

Campion. Would Hierome forbid þe gentlewoman to reade Ecclesiasticus, where there are giuen so many morall precepts? *Non sunt in Canone Hebraeorum, sed in Canone Christianorum.* They are not in the Canon of the Hebrewes, but they are in the Canon of the Christians.

Walker. They may be read for morall Lessons, but not for matters of religion, which must bee proued by Canonically scripture. What say you to the second booke of Macchabees? Thinke you that to be holden for Canonically scripture?

Campion. I thinke so: What should let?

Walker. What say you to þe sentence 2. Maccha. 12. thrust into the text, *Salubris est oratio pro defunctis*? and to that which followeth? *Et si quidem bene, & ut historia competit, hoc est ut ipse velim, sin autem minus digne, concedendum est mihi.* And if I haue done well, and as is meete for a storie, this also my selfe did wish, &c.

Camp. It is marueille that you shoulde say that it is thrust in.

Walker. It is noted so by oþer, and the duectie of an historiographer is to repute things done truely and plainly, without arguing like a Logitian: but hee sayeth, *Ergo salubris est oratio pro defunctis*. Therefore prayer for the dead is healthfull, which appeareth first to haue beene set in the margent. But howe auoyde you the last? Can such asking of pardon be of the holy Ghost? wherein hath hee sayled? or of whom shall hee be pardoned?

conference.

pardoned?

Camp. The interpreter asketh pardon of his speech for his style, and not for the doctrine. The holy Ghost asketh no more pardon, then Paul did when he sayde *Rudis sum sermone*, I am rude in speech, when he spake in a base and lowe stile.

Charke. Campion, howsoever you labour to auoyde the direct course of disputation, and haue obtained some change of the question, I must call you home by and by. Notwithstanding, I minde a while to followe this your course, and to finde you out in your owne trace: where I maruaile howe you dare thus speake in this assemblie. For what a blot is it to the holy Ghost, to affirme he should aske pardon? and to the Apostle Saint Paul, to say his stile to the Corinthians is a base and lowe stile? But to vse no further pface, I will thus proue that the second booke of the Macchabees was not indited by the holy Ghost.

Whatsoever needeth pardon either for matter or maner, was 1. Argum. not indited by the holy Ghost:

But the storie of the second booke of Macchabees needeth pardon, either for matter or maner:

Therefore it was not indited by the holy Ghost.

Camp. This man would be angrie with me, if he knew why.

Charke. If I would, knowe I not why to be angrie with you, a notable and boted enemye of the trueth of God, and a seditious man against the state? But I come not to deale with your person, but against your errors: Answer the argument.

Camp. I say the wyter of the Macchabees asketh pardon of his speech, neither doeth S. Paul blotte the holy Ghost when he sayd that he was *rudis sermone*, that he spake not so eloquently, nor so finely, as sometimes he might.

Charke. You answered not directly: and beside, you affirme an error. For S. Paul craueth no pardon for his stile, but letteth his plainesse against the set and curious speech of the false Apostles, who did come in gay apparance and shewe of wordes, as if they had had all the power of trueth that might bee & yet in this plaine stile, the Apostle was of al others most mightie & most eloquent. As for the 2. booke of Macchabees, which you make Canonically scripture, here I wil make this challenge (if you dare answer it) to proue many lyes in þ booke through

Ignorance of
the storie.

The fourth dayes

it was written by a prophane spirite for the matter. But to come to the Syllogisme, and to disprove your distinction, I reason thus.

The writers of holy Scriptures aske not any pardon at all, either for the matter or for the manner:

Therefore they aske no pardon for their stile.

Camp. I denie your Antecedent: Paul sayeth, *Rudis sum sermone.*

Charke. If Saint Paul saith *Rudis sum sermone*, doeth he (I pray you) in those wordes craue pardon for his stile? howe hang your wordes together? I will proue my Antecedent by the place of Peter.

2. Pet. I. 21.

None that haue written, as they were directed by the spirit of God, craue pardon either for matter or for manner:

But all the holy men of God that wrote the Scriptures, haue written as they were directed by the spirit of God:

Therefore none of the holy men of God, that haue written the Scriptures, craue pardon either for matter or manner.

Camp. This acknowledging of the weakenesse of his stile, is in the Apostle an humilitie comming from the holy Ghost.

Charke. You answere not to the Argument: therefore, to answere your counsell, consider the Syllogisme againe in this sort.

Whatsoever is the worde of God, is full, sound, and perfect, it doeth neither aske, nor neede pardon in any respect:

But the second booke of Hecchabees, doeth both neede & aske pardon in some respect:

Therefore it is not the worde of God.

Here was a
comon good
liking of this
way.

Norton. If you will stay a while and speake leisurely, you shall haue the Argument written: and while it is writing, if you will haue any thing added or changed, it shall be done. It will be more profitable for the hearers, and greater ease for your selues.

Camp. With a good will, I answere: In it selfe and for it selfe it neither needeth nor asketh pardon, but for circumstance. In respect of what to eares, it may aske pardon.

Charke. Why Champion, shall the holy Ghost begge pardon in respect of what to eares?

Camp. Why, But this in also, that I say it was in respect of the stile, for the forme and the manner of it.

Norton.

Norton. Well I haue put it in so.

Charke. Let him put in all his shiftes & helpes, clogging his answeres as much as he will, we will cast the clogges vpon his owne heeles: and thus I reason against all your cauils. Whatsoeuer is in the worde of God is all of the holy Ghost, both for matter, for stile, and for circumstance, and the holy Ghost asketh no pardon for any of these: Therfore the 2. booke of the Macchabees asking pardon is not of the holy Ghost, nor canonical scripture.

Campion did often adde & alter his answeres, while they were in writing.

Here Campion being hastie before Master Norton had written it through out, Master Norton willed him to stay a little. Campion replied, that it was losse of time. To which Master Norton answered againe, that it was a gaining of the time. He desired that the worde all might be inferred in the Antecedent.

Before he desired it, & now being straightened he disliked it and counteth it losse of time.

Charke. I sayd, all.

Norton. So it is, and rightly set downe.

Camp. Then I answer thus, This circumstance, of asking pardon, is of the holy Ghost: for it is a speech of humilitie, proceeding from the holy Ghost, as is Saint Pauls speech, *Rudis sum sermone*, I am rude in speech: *Et non in persuasibilibus verbis humana sapientia*. Not in the perswasible wordes of mans wisdom.

Charke. *Rudis sum sermone* commeth oft and rudely in: and yet the alledging of it hath bene disproued long ago. Neuertheless seeing it pleaseth you so wel, it shalbe a weapon of your owngiuing, to vse against your selfe. For the Apostle, of purpose auoyding the wisdom of mans eloquence, doth iustifie that which his aduersaries called rudenesse of speech, as lawfull and good. Neither doth he (as you imagin) confesse any want, or craue pardon. Therefore your example is false, deceitfull, and vnlearned. It is a trim thing for you to abuse the multitude vnder opinion of great learning, and to match those that are no scriptures with scriptures, sometime affirming one thing, and another time another: sometime that the Apostles speech is rude and the stile base, and needeth pardon in respect of vaine cares: and now last that it needeth no pardon, but is done for humilitie: whereas the holy Ghost neuer asketh pardon of man for any thing he doth: for that were to bring God vnder man, and make the spirit of God subiect to the allowance of disallowance of sinfull flesh.

A.iii.

Camp.

The fourth dayes

Camp. I answere, that neither this of the Macchabees, nor Pauls speech hath neede of pardon in it selfe.

Charke. It is too too much & absurd to accuse the holy ghost of waste and needles speech. For if there needed no pardon, it was not according to the holy Ghost to craue it.

Camp. I haue sayd, neither this nor the Apostles speech needed any pardon in it selfe, and yet it was not waste and needlesse, because it proceeded of humilitie.

Charke. Will you charge the holy Ghost with dissimulation? speaketh he one thing, and meaneth another?

Camp. I say it was not waste, because it proceeded of humilitie, to craue pardon.

Charke. Wel, I proue my assertion against this your imagined humilitie of the holy Ghost to sinfull flesh.

Whatsoeuer is without cause is waste and needlesse:

But your self confesse it to be without cause for the holy Ghost to craue pardon:

Therefore by your owne confession it is waste and needlesse,

Camp. I denie the Minor. For there is cause: for in trueth the stile is simple.

Charke. Howe often haue you granted the Minor, saying, he needed not to aske pardon: and now (as forgetting your selfe) you say there is cause of asking pardon: For (you say) in trueth the stile is simple. Your speeches are contradictorie. Set it downe that the aduersarie is not at one with him selfe. Besides, he was binuen before to graue the stile is not base or simple.

Camp. I haue set downe no contrarietie, but in respect.

Charke. In respect, is a simple gift. Are not these contradictory propositions? He needeth not pardon, but asketh it in humilitie: and, He needeth pardon, for in trueth the stile is simple.

Camp. I pray you reade the place of the Maccabees.

Charke. Thus you retire: and aske moreover that which needeth not. For the place is well known, and was read before. But I will reade it againe, *Et si quidem bene & ut historia competit, hoc & ipse velim: si autem minus dignè, concedendum est mihi.* Thus I would haue all the companie marke and vnderstand, whom you laboꝝ with indirect speeches to abuse & draw from the trueth, that whether the authour of this booke excuse himself & craue pardon

The aduersary
against him-
selfe, and yet
turned from
all his shifts.

In English. If
so be I haue
done wel, & as
agreeth with a
storie, this I do
desire: if not
so worthily, it
must be par-
doned in me.

conference. 11

in these wordes for his stile, or for his storie, neither can be of the holy ghost: because (as hath bene proued at large) the holy ghost faileth nothing at all in any point of speache, of matter, or of circumstance. Thus your distinctions and cause fall together.

Camp. I haue answered you in what respect he craueth pardon, and if that cannot satisfie you, leaue it to God and this companie to iudge of.

Charke. Sure your satisfaction is very weake: farre from satisfying God that hateth such fond distinctions to darke his word, or those of the companie that seeke to be edified. But you giue me new occasion to prosecute this matter, What thinke you thereof of the storie of Iudith, touching the dressing and decking of her selfe with apparell and ornaments fittest to deceiue Holofernes eyes: and what say you to her lies and prayer that he might be taken with the snare of his eyes looking vpon her: the speeches vntrue, and the action vnchaste in outward apparance, were they (thinke you) of the holy Ghost?

Iudith 10.34.
Iudith 10.verf.
12,13.& 11.19.
and 12.14.
Iud.9.verf.10.

Camp. I maruell not that you so speake of me, when you so speake of a blessed woman, to bring so holy an action into doubt. Surely you greatly offend me in so doing.

Charke. I speake of y^e wordes and storie as it is plainly written, she prayeth, saying, *Capiatur laqueo oculorum suorum in me,* & *percusies eum ex labijs charitatis meae.* And againe, *Verte sermonem meum in fraudem.* Doe you thinke this speache proceeded of the holy Ghost? Nay rather (howsoeuer it displease you to heare of the matter) it proceeded from a prophane spirit, as I haue said, to charge the holy ghost with fraud, & to pray for such an effect, that Holofernes might be taken wth her loue, & snared with her kisses.

Let him be taken with the snare of his eyes set on me: and smite him with the lippes of my loue.

Campion. There be no such wordes in the booke.

Charke. Were you are manifestly ouertaken: for they are worde for worde in the 9. Chapter: and after your translations, the vulgar, and Varablus.

Turne my speech into fraude.

Campion. Is that to be esteemed fraud, which the holy ghost deuileth? Is it fraud to deceiue the deuill: blame you her, who did that the w^old to a good end, and for the deliuerie of the Church?

Char. What dealing is this? Euen now he denied the words: now finding them strong against his cause, he would auoide them with a distinction of good intents, to iustifie bad parts. Thus you

By Campions doctrine, no practise is lawfull, so it be for the deliuerie of their Church.

Papists

The fourth dayes

Rom. 3.8.

Papists hold against the word of God, that we may do euill that good may come of it. No Campion, Gods spirit is alwayes like it selfe: it is not agreeing with the maiestie of the spirit of God, for any woman to pray that a stranger shoulde be taken with the snare of his eyes looking vpon her: or that she may deceiue by lies. This stoye therfore & this practise proceeded not fro þ holý ghost.

Camp. It is a shame for you to bring that example. She desireth God, that it will please him to turne the wickednes of Holofernes to the deliuerie of his people. Shee prayeth not (as you say) that he shoulde sinne.

Charke. She doth pray for it in plaine words, and set out her selfe in sumptuous apparell and ornaments to that purpose. It is a shame for you Campion to mainteine any such absurditie, & againe to deny and misconster the manifest wordes of that you would haue Canonically scripture. We stand before þ face of God for the maintenance of his trueth, & giue such honour thereunto, that we acknowledge with our harts, & cõfesse with our mouths, that it is perfect, full, and sufficient, and that there is no prophanation in it: but you would haue that to bee matched with holy scripture, which is far unworthy that honor. What say you to the argument & the place? Let him be takẽ with the snare of his eyes in me, & turne my speech into deceit or fraude. This is a prayer for successe in a matter of sinne, most vnseemely for þ holý ghost.

Camp. I receiue this booke, first because the Nicene councill hath allowed it: then I say further, þ this was her meaning, that whereas God had giue Holofernes ouer to sirly lust, þ he might be taken with þ loue of his eyes towards her, to be besotted with her, þ she might the better performe her determinate purpose: she prayeth that God will turne his sinne to þ deliuerie of his distressed people. And what doth she commit worthy of blame in this?

Charke. This is not only worthy of blame, but also to be cõdemned as sinfull, and sauouring of a prophane spirite, that shee prayeth God to blesse her lyes and falshood, her tentations and allurements to lust. For the Lord hath appointed good wayes for good purposes, and for the performance of þ his worke he needed not her deceit. For (as Iob saith) God needeth not any mans lie, or any mans fraude. Which is also true of the fraude and dangerous allurements mentioned in that chapter,

Camp.

Moreover Iudith doth praise that act which the holý ghost doth flatly condẽne
vide Iud. 9.2. &
gen. 49.5. &c.
Iob 13.7.

conference.

Camp. What Chapter? what Chapter?

Charke. The ninth Chapter. Reade and acknowledge the wordes you haue denyed. Here Campion read in his owne booke, saying he perceiued we builded vpon our owne translation.

Camp. know-
eth not his
owne transla-
tion.

Camp. Well, this is mine answer. It was not truely and formally fraude, but materially in the formall act fraude: as for example, when the people of the Iewes were commanded to steale from the Egyptians, it was in the act theft, but not formally theft. So Abrahams intent to kill his childe, was to do mur-ther in the act, but formally it was no murther.

Charke. You woulde not be in steade of a short and schoole-like answer braue me to a *responsum*, from the place in hande to the examination of newe matters. Therefore to take you where you will needes be, I say the Hebræwe worde hath not that significati-on that it shoulde import theft, but a spoyle, which was iust and commanded of God, as after a victorie, or for a rewarde of their labours and seruice in Egypt: therefore no theft. But this fraude is another thing. So þ first example is vnlike & proueth nothing: no moze do the rest. For Abrahams act was no murther, nor intent of murther, but a duectfull obedience and seruice to God who had expressely commanded it. Lastly, you can not thinke þ the Ma-gistrate in taking the life of a transgressor, or taking away þ head of a traytor, is a murtherer. No, this duectie of iustice is layd vpon him by his office from God, and can not but ignorantly be called murther. And such was the warrant for Abraham in his office.

Campion. I meane killing, as it respecteth the taking away of life and no otherwise.

Charke. How do you confound the special with the general? All murther is the taking away of life, but all taking away of life is not murther. To kill and to take away life from the wicked by the sword of iustice is iust, and in no respect to carry the name of murther, which is euermoze euill.

Walker. *Concilium Laodicenum*, The Councill of Laodicea hath left out Tobie, Iudith, the booke of Wildome, Eccclus, Baruch, Maccabees, Esra the third and fourth, and in the new Testament Luke & the Apocalyps, these are the wordes: *Quæ autem oporteat legi & in auctoritatem recipi hæc sunt, Genesis, Exodus, &c.* But those which ought to be read & receiued for authentical are these,

B b. i.

Genesis,

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Genesis, Exodus, &c. where the forenamed bookes are omitted.

Camp. The Laodicene Council, was particular and not general, And againe, it rekeneth by those bookes y were vndouted, & not douted of in y part of y world. But what maketh this to proue y they were douted of, of y Catholike Church? They were douted of in y Church, or in y part of the Church, Ergo they were douted of, of the whole Church. Now holdeth this? Therefore it is plaine y these bookes were not douted of in y whole Church. For the same Nicene Council accepteth Iudeth, as Hierome testifieth in the preface to Iudeth. Further, because the Church of Rome approueth them, it followeth not that we should dout of them.

Walker. Then you confesse, that y Council set not downe al that we should receiue. And where you make the Council particular, it was prouinciall: and further, was confirmed by the sixth general Council holden at Trullo, Constantine being president, as Bartholomæus Caranza writeth fol. 71. & therfore we may w them leaue out of the Canon, Tobie, Iudeth, the booke of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees, &c. which your Council of Trent thrust in as authenticall. But to leaue that, it is plaine, that Cyprian vpon the Creede omitteth al y Apocrypha, hauing rehearsed those which be Canonically, he sayth, *Hæc sunt que patres intra Canonem concluderunt, ex quibus fidei nostra assertiones constare voluerunt. Sciendum tamen est, quod & alij libri sunt, qui non Canonici sed Ecclesiastici a maioribus appellati sunt, ut est Sapientia Salomonis, Ecclesiasticus libellus, Tobia & Iudith, & Machabeorum libri, qua omnia in ecclesijs legi voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad autoritatem ex iis fidei confirmandam*, These are those things which the fathers shut within the Canon, by which they woulde haue the assertions of our faith to stand. Notwithstanding wee must know that there are other bookes also, which of our Elders were called Ecclesiast, and not Canonically, as Salomons booke of Wised. Eccles. the bookes of Tobias, Iudeth, & the Macca. all which they woulde haue read in the church, and yet not brought forth, to confirme the authoritie of faith out of them.

Camp. He is called commonly *Author expositionis in Symbolum*, and therfore doubtful whether it were Cyprian or no: but admit it were, I answere to these and al such like places, that when particular Fathers, & particular Councils doe reckon by such & such bookes,

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bookes, & omit others y^e either were receiued there or in other places sithe, they reckon by such as were then come to their knowledge, and such as were approued in that part of the world, where they then liued. But it followeth not, they reckened no more, Ergo there were no more. They doubted, therefore we must acknowledge no more. For the Church hath since put them out of doubt.

Walker. You answered not, but trifle: For those are not onely omitted and left vnreckoned, but they are set downe for Apocrypha or Ecclesiastici, & so certainly named, and not canonical.

Camp. Some might be set downe then as doubtfull, that now are out of doubt, because they are receiued.

Charke. Hitherto you haue gone from the matter: where in I haue bene willing to followe you a little, to cleare the point that then was in hand when I began with you. Nowe let vs come to the questions agreed of betweene vs.

Camp. May let vs first speake of the authoritie of the Scripture, then (if you will) of the sufficiencie.

Charke. Of the authoritie we haue spoken already, and it is not within our question, which is onely of sufficiencie.

Camp. I deferre to the scriptures all authoritie, and all sufficiencie: therefore you haue nothing against me.

Charke. Yes, I haue this against you, that you doe not thinke the scriptures onely and alone sufficient to all doctrine of faith and maners. For whatsoeuer you say, we knowe you holde and teache the contrarie: namely that all things are not set downe and written in the worde. This other day you were still calling for Syllogismes, and when you had receiued a blowe; and stood astonished vnder it, yet you cryed out, a Syllogisme, a Syllogisme; to make men beleue that you were not touched. Nowe you shall haue Syllogismes: answer to them directly and shortly. Thus I proue the sufficiencie of the scripture without traditions.

What the Apostles taught *vina voce*, by liuely voyce, that also they wrote:

Argu. 1. Proving that the scriptures containe sufficient doctrine to salvation.

But they taught *vina voce*, whatsoeuer is necessary to saluatio: Therefore they wrote also whatsoeuer is necessary to saluatio.

Camp. *Nego argumentum*, I denie the Argument.

Charke. It is a Syllogisme, you would haue denied my Maior, I thinke.

B. ii.

Camp.

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Camp. *Howe your Maior then.*

Charke. What care they had ouer the Churches present, the same care they had ouer the Churches to come afterwarde:

But their care ouer the Churches present, was to open to them all the counsell of God:

Therefore they left the like prouision in writing to all posteritie, that they might be instructed in all the counsell of God.

Camp. I answere to the Maior. They had the same care, but in such sort as it was expedient. It was not expedient that they should write all and euery sillable that they spake: and yet notwithstanding they disclosed all the counsell of God, either in speciall or generall wordes writtten.

Charke. Very wel, then we are come to the issue of the matter, and you graunt the question, that all doctrine both concerning faith and maners, is either in speciall or generall wordes contained in the Scripture.

Camp. I agree. But heare mine answere out of S. Augustine against Cresconius. Where it can not be aduouched in scripture by speciall wordes that the baptisme of heretikes is good, yet it is deliuered in the scripture by generall wordes, forasmuch as the scripture doeth command vs to obey the Church which hath allowed this baptisme being conferred *in forma Ecclesie*: so the doctrines not particularly discoursed in scriptures are yet contained in these wordes, Obey your prelates. The Church is the pillar and supporter of trueth. And if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee an Ethnike and Publicane.

Charke. You say particular matters are contained in those generall wordes, Obey your Prelates. Doe you meane that we must obey them in causes not contained in the worde? Then you may binde vs to what you list, & disallowe what ye please. Therefore, say, that I may seeke your corners and finde you out, what meane you by this when you say that Generall commandments allowe particular traditions?

Camp. I named not traditions.

Charke. But it is the effect and scope of your speech for obedience to your Church Prelates, in matters not expressed in the Scriptures.

Camp. I say there be popntes wherein we agree with you,

as

*In the forme or
manner of the
Church.*

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as the baptisme of heretiques, the baptisme of infantes, the holy Ghost proceeding from the father and the sonne, that baptisme is a Sacrament and preaching is none, being both commanded at one time, that the Eucharist is a Sacrament and washing of feete none, being commanded at one time : and such like.

Charke. To say that the proceeding of the holy Ghost from the Father & the Sonne is not expessed in the scripture, is a blasphemous speech.

Camp. Shew me any sentence expessing it in the scripture.

Charke. It sufficeth to shewe it inferred in the scripture by good proofes of consequence & implication. But what say you to traditions, decrees and such like, which the Church of Rome maintaineth as the very Word it selfe? Let us speake of them being now in question, and not breake out into newe matters not in controuersie.

Camp. I will not go from my question.

Charke. You shall come to it, if you take vpon you the defence of your traditions, which I disproue in this maner.

If the Apostles left nothing vntowitten that is necessarie to salvation, the scriptures are sufficient: Argu. 1.

But the Apostles haue left nothing vntowitten necessarie to salvation :

Therefore the Scriptures are sufficient.

Campion. I graunt it as befoze, referring it to the Church, and supposing alwayes a true Church. I pray you of what Church are you?

Charke. We talke of the true Church, and therefore this question is needles. Are we to obey any thing contrary to the worde of God? You can imagine nothing left to the Church, that is not manifestly contained in the scripture.

Camp. Call you manifestly particularly?

Charke. To what purpose is that question? I must bring you to a Syllogisme, lest you auoyde disputation by digressing into other matter.

If any thing be left obscure or not fully handled by the Apostles, it was either because the Apostles could not, or because they would not write manifestly and fully:

But it is a blasphemie to say they could not, and it is false to

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say they would not:

Therefore they haue written all, manifestly and fully,

Here Campion repeated the Argument, and then sayd thus:

Camp. I answer to the worde manifestly: either in generall or particular termes manifest, and this the Apostles both could and would. For this is manifest enough, Beleue the Church: but it is not particular,

Charke. While we dispute of the manifest and full contents of the scripture, leaue to choppe in the needles terme Particular: manifest generals do include particulars. And where, I pray you, are we commanded to beleue the Church in matters not contained in the written worde? By this vncertaine rule you may warrant all former traditions, and bring in any newe absurdities,

Camp. That is not the question,

Charke. But it is a necessary note for the confutation of your answeres and doctrine of unwritten herities. Therefore I thus proue against you,

To leaue a doore open to any changeable or doubtfull traditions, is not to teache things manifest enough in the scriptures:

But to send vs to your Church prelates in matters not expressed in the written worde, is to leaue a doore open to changeable and doubtfull traditions:

Therefore to send vs to your Church prelates in matters not expressed in the written worde, is not to teach things manifest enough in the scriptures,

Camp. To leaue a doore to traditions, which the holy Ghost may deliuer to the true Church, is both manifest and sure: as the baptisme of Infantes, the holy Ghost proceeding from Father and Sonne, and such other things mentioned, which are deliuered by tradition. Proue these directly by the scripture.

Charke. Which proposition in the Syllogisme doe you denie?

Camp. Proue the baptisme of children and the proceeding of the holy Ghost, not to be traditions.

Charke. I maruaile you thus auoyde the Syllogisme, and what you meane to match doctrines contained in y word of God with unwritten and vncertaine traditions of men. It is plaine, that the baptisme of children is proued by the analogie of Circumcision with baptisme, children being circumcised y eight day.

Also

Rom. 4. 11.

Colos. 2. 11, 12.

Gen. 17. 12.

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Also by that the Sacraments of the old Testament, are the same with the Sacraments of the newe. The proceeding of the holy ghost is evidently proued by this that our Sauour promisseth to send the holy Ghost. 1. Cor. 10. 1.
Luke 22. 49.
Iohn 15. 26.

Camp. Proue the proceeding of the holy ghost *Ex parte filii*: That is on the sonnes part: For that is the point.

Charke. It is proued by my former words, and where Christ breathed vpon his disciples and said, Receiue the holy ghost.

Camp. Well, leaue that & talke of baptisme, which this company vnderstandeth better. Suppose that I am an Anabaptist: And y^e Anabaptist denieth this argument, because children should not be baptized till the eighth day, & the scripture willet them to be baptized that beleue: so that first they must haue Faith, or els they may not be baptized. Iohn 2. 22.
Campion was reader to moue 2. new matters, then to answere one argumēt.

Charke I reple to you, that Infidels, of age to vnderstande and beleue, must beleue before they be baptized and admitted to the Church: but the children of beleuers being the seede of the faithfull, they may receiue the seale of the couenant of God made to the Fathers & to their seede, according to that of the Apostle, If the first fruites be holy, the lump also: If the roote be holy, the branches also are holy. But to y^e question, Notwithstanding the scriptures be the only rule & triall of all questions in religion, and do fully proue y^e matter in hand: yet (because you will not be contented without the) answere a place or two out of y^e Doctors. Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 35. of his ecclesiasticall storie writeth, that Ignatius being caried prisoner to Rome, did exhort the Churches to cleaue vnseparably to the tradition (that is, to y^e deliuered doctrine of the Apostles) which for safetie it was necessarie to put downe in writing, that we might not depart frō it. Which excludeth the generall bringing in of unwritten verities vnder the colour of that text, Obey your prelates. Rom. 11. 6.

Campion. Reade the place.

Charke. Πρωτεύοντες τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἡμετέρῃ, καὶ ἀποστέλλοντες ἡμῶν ἀποστόλους ἐν ἡμετέροις ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς καὶ μαρτυροῦμενος διατυπώσαντες ἀνελκίζοντες ἡμῶν. In English thus: He exhorted the Churches to cleaue vnseparably to the tradition of the Apostles, which hee supposed and testified nowe for safeties sake, necessarily to haue beene set downe euen in writing.

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Camp. What wordes do you inferre? Tradition I graunt is not alwayes taken for vnwritten veritie. This place maketh for those traditions which were not then written. Ignatius was S. Johns scholler, and he was *Oculus testis*, An eye witness of things that were not then written, but went from hand to hand, and therefore hee thought it necessarie to leaue in writing such trueth as he had heard and was not written before. For the Gospels were not then written, & Ignatius wrote no Gospel, and the text noteth that the things whereof hee spake, were such as himselfe wrote.

Charke. You mistake the meaning of the place. For Ignatius spake not of your doubtfull and multiplied traditions, but of the certaine Tradition, that is, of the deliuered and written doctrine of the Apostles, to the which we must cleaue *et c.*, that is, so steadfastly that no force, no arte may cut vs off, or withstanding vs from it: no not an Angell from heauen, much lesse any mortall man, howsoeuer magnified with the high titles of Popedome, or Prelacie, or Apostolicall authoritie.

Walker. You haue graunted that al things are written in the word, and that such traditions as can not manifestly be gathered out of the Canonical Scriptures, are not to be receaued. Thereupon I reason thus.

The same that the Apostles wrote, the same they deliuered in tradition:

But they haue written and deliuered the same things that they read in the Canonickall scripture:

Ergo Their writings and traditions be all one and the same.

Camp. The same, that is to say, nothing contrarie.

Walker. The same and no other is needefull to saluation. Heare the Apostles words. 1. Cor. 4. *Hac de causa misi vobis Timotheum, qui est filius meus dilectus, & fidelis in domino, qui vobis in memoriam reducet vias meas quae sunt in Christo, quem admodum in omni ecclesia doceo.* Who is my beloued sonne and faithfull in the Lord, who wil put you in mind of my waies which are in the Lorde, euen as I teache euery where in euery Church. That hee wrote and taught in one Church, he wrote and taught in another, and therefore 2. Cor. 1. he saith, *Nam gloria nostra est testimonium conscientiae nostrae, &c. Non enim alia scribimus vobis, quam quae le-*
gitis

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gitis & agnoscitis. For this is our glorie, euen the testimonie of our conscience, &c. For we write no other things vnto you, the which you reade and knowe in deede. Againe, 2. Cor. 2. *Quales sumus sermone per epistolas cum absimus, tales sumus & cum adsumus facto.* The same that we are in speech by our Epistles, when we are absent, such we are also when we are present.

Camp. The same, no contrarietie. For there were afterwards many scriptures that were not then written. Howe therefore coulde they teach all thinges? This Epistle was not then written, and diuers others. The meaning is, they taught one Faith, one Christ, one doctrine: but he speaketh not of the Scriptures.

Walker. He taught the same thinges that Moses and the Prophets taught. *Quales sumus sermone per Epistolas, tales & facto.*

Camp. I graunt the same testimonies out of Moses and the Prophets: and Paul was as stout in speaking as in doing. But what proueth this against me? For he saide more then he wrote.

Walker. He saide no more then is written in the Scripture.

Camp. It is true that the Apostles proued all that they preached out of the Scriptures, out of the Law and the Prophets, and thereby iustified their preaching: and yet that part of the newe Testament which was afterwards written, was not superfluous: therefore sufficiencie employeth not that it must be expessed, but that it may be gathered.

Walker. You are one absent, & another present. You woulde bring in Idolatrie vnder the name of your traditions: but I shewe you, that whatsoeuer we are to receiue, it must be in y^e Scripture.

Camp. These are but wordes, they neede no answer.

Walker. Well, I will berge you with matter out of Ambrose, 1. Cor. 4. *Super verba, regnetis. vt & nos vobiscum regnemus? Quicquid ab Apostolis traditum non est, sceleribus plenum est.* Whatsoeuer is not taught and deliuered by the Apostles, is full of wickednesse.

Camp. He disputes against false Apostles, and by waye of comparison he seuereth the traditions of Catholiques, from those of Heretikes: and this he doeth to shewe the difference of traditions, and not to condemne traditions.

Walker. It is an vniuersall proposition, that all traditions

If the Apostles proued all by Scripture (as Campion graunteth) why should not all others do the like?

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that came not from the Apostles are full of wickednes: but those which they wrote came not from them. Ambrose also lib. 3. de virginibus: *Nos noua omnia quæ Christus non docuit, iure damnamus, quia fidelibus uia Christus est. Si igitur Christus non docuit quod docemus, etiam nos id detestabile iudicamus.* We doe iustly condemne all newthings which Christ hath not taught, because Christ is the way vnto the faithfull, If therefore Christ hath not taught that which we teache, wee also doe iudge that to bee most detestable.

Campion, This is against false prophetes, whereof there were many that then went abrode from place to place, teaching many things vnder the names of the Apostles that were none of theirs.

Walker. Very well. So there are things taught by you vnder their names, which are none of theirs: wherefore, we may conclude you to be in the number of false prophetes. Christ saith, Iohn 15. *Omnia quæ audiui a patre meo, nota feci vobis.* I haue shewed all things to you which I haue heard of my father. He shewed all thinges necessarie to saluation: and therefore this is the conclusion, Iohn. 20. *Hæc scripta sunt ut vitam habeatis: ideo uita consistit in ijs quæ scripta sunt.* These things are written that ye might haue life: therefore life consisteth in those things which are written. Tertullian de præscriptionibus Hæreticorum: *Apostolos enim domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio quod inducerent eligerunt, sed acceptam à Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignauerunt. Itaque etiamsi Angelus de cælis aliter euangelizaret &c.* We haue the Apostles for our authors, who neither themselves chose any thing that they brought in of their owne brayne, but they faithfully assigned that discipline which they had receiued from Christ to the nations. Therefore, albeit an Angell should preach otherwise from heauen, &c.

Campion. Christ did teach all, and therefore the Apostles writte all that Christ taught? *Nego argumentum.* I deny the argument.

Walker. Why, *Hæc scripta sunt ut vitam habeamus:* These things are written, that wee may haue life: what neede we more?

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Campion. Enough is written, but in such sorte as was sayd before, either in generall wordes or speciall: either discoursed, or touched.

Walker. Although as the Euangelist saith, *Iohn 21. Multa alia fecit Iesus in conspectu discipulorum suorum, quae non sunt scripta in hoc libro.* Iesus did many other things in the sight of his disciples which are not written in this booke: as true it is, hee wrought many miracles before his death, to declare himselfe to be the sonne of God, and after his resurrection to declare that he had a true bodie, which both did suffer, and was raysed up agayne. And Luke Act. 1. sayth, *Scripti tibi Theophile de omnibus quae Christus cum fecit, sum docuit.* I haue written vnto thee o Theophilus concerning all things which Christ both hath done & hath taught, He saith, *De omnibus, non singulis.* For then if euery particular worde and act of Christ had bene written, the worlde could not haue receiued the volumes of bookes that should haue bene written, *Iohn 2.5,9.* But these things are written. *Iohn, 20.9.* that ye might belecue, and in beleeuing haue eternall life. Therefore, *Scrutamini scripturas, quia in ipsis, non alibi vita quaerenda.* *Iohn. 5.* Seache the scriptures, becaule in them is life, and not els where to be sought.

Charke. This you haue bene inforced to graunt, that all thinges necessarie to saluation, are contained manifestly in the Scriptures.

Campion. I graunt it with my distinction: they are either manifestly written, or contained vnder that generall commaundement, Obey your prelates.

Charke. To proue, that whatsoeuer you teache, ought to bee in the written worde of God. I haue a plaine place out of Tertullian against Hermogenes, which also maketh strongly against you. His wordes are these. *Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina: si non est scriptum, timeat va illud adijcientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum.* Let Hermogenes shole shewe that it is written: if it be not written, let him feare that curle appointed for them, which adde or take from the scriptures.

Campion. Where, say you, is this place of Tertullian?

Charke. In his booke *aduersus Hermogenem.*

Camp. *Aduersus Hermogenem?* I thinke ye are deceiued:

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there

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there is no such booke in Tertullian.

Charke. I do not onely thinke, but knowe of a certaintie that you are deceiued, and will shewe you the booke.

Campion. Note this obiection. This is mine answer to it. Hermogenes the Heretike did alleadge a bastard tradition, and Tertullian doth call him to proue his opiniõ by true Scriptures. For Tertullians argument is not to say, It is not written, Therefore it is not true: but to call him to proue the Scripture true, which he alledged for him.

Charke. And note this answer. He that euen now knowe no such booke, taketh presently vpon him to discourse of the argument thereof. What great boldnes is this? From what present reuelation doth it come? Beside your boldnes, your error is great, in affirming that Hermogenes brought a bastard tradition: for there is no such thing, as may appeare to any man that for triall hereof will reade þ booke. Hermogenes is cõfuted for saying as an Aristotelian Philosopher, þ God made al things of *materia prima*. Againe, of your answer I conclude, that of necessitie the prooffe of euery particular tradition must be by a true scripture. And it is *veritas*, a generall position: Tertullian would haue Hermogenes proue all that he helde by scripture.

Camp. I say it is not to shewe a bastard writing for his tradition, but that which is true scripture.

Charke. And that is all I aske: for what do I seeke more, but to proue that euery tradition must be proued by true Scripture: when therefore you Iesuites bring in vnwritten traditions concerning your Candles, your unholy graines, your Agnus deis and such beggerly stufte wherewith you abuse and pester the world, Tertullian saith, you bring a Vx. vpon your selues, except you can proue the vse of them by Scriptures.

Campion. Why, I say it must needes be proued there, or els it is not to be receaued.

Charke. Remember what you graunt: I aske no more. To leaue Tertullian with you, to aduise better of: I alledge also a place of Basil out of his treatises called *de coniugio*, capite *de coniugio*. This place doth clerely establish the sufficiencie of scripture, and banisheth all vnwritten and selfe will worshippinges. Consider the place, for it is worthy of consideration, as making against you in this

this question: and charging you with pride and apostasie, for bringing in things not written.

Camp. Well, let these your speeches passe: Reade the place, S. Basill is not against vs.

Charke. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ αἰσθητικῇ ἀποστολῇ ἡ ἀδελφότης τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ μὲν γρηγοριανῷ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἰωάννῃ ἐκπορεύεται, τὰ ἑμὰ ἀποβὰς τῆς ἰαυῆς φωνῆς ἀκούει.* &c. It is a manifest Apostasie or falling away from the faith, and a fault of high pride, either to disallowe any thing written in the Scriptures, or to bring in any thing not written: seeing the Lord hath sayd, My sheepe heare my voyce, &c. with other arguments to that purpose.

Camp. I will not trouble the auditoie with this place. For Basill declareth that in some thinges we must be referred to tradition, he speaketh onely for the alleadging of false scriptures, and hath nothing against me.

Charke. Then nothing can make against errour, if this make not against you. But you abuse the auditoie, and knowe not the mist of Basill in this place, and that I will make euident to all the companie. Take the booke and reade it if you can, the place is easie Greeke, and the sentence but short.

Camp. I had rather reade it in Latine then in Greeke: I vnderstande the Latine better. I maruell you are so much in your Greeke,

Charke. If I shoulde not haue brought it in Greeke but in Latine, then you woulde haue taken exception against the interpreter. I bring not the interpretour, but Basill himselfe in the tongue wherein hee wrote. Here Campion being long in turning the Latine booke, coulde not finde the treatise, but desired Master Charke to finde it, who answered, I haue it readie in Basill himselfe. If you flee to the interpretour, turne your owne booke.

Campion. I haue answered you, Saint Basils meaning is, as it was then, a common doctrine: that it is a great fault to disallow true scriptures, or to bring in false scriptures: and to farther a false writing vpon the Apostles.

Charke. I protest, that hauing perused the circumstances of the place, I finde no such generall or particular miste of the fa-

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ther, as you misreport : but a playne doctrine and sundrie argumentes to proue it, that nothing is to be receiued or brought into the Church, that is not written.

Camp. Your protestation is no argument. I am acquainted with this dealing since the other day. But the scope of Saint Basill is as I haue saide.

Charke. My true protestation doeth ouerway your misconstruing, as wel of Basill now, as of Tertullian before, and therein I referre my selfe to the examination of both places. If you will or can reade but twenty lines further, your owne eyes shal see and giue sentence against your selfe.

Camp. I haue giuen you the sense of the Doctours wordes, and neede not reade the place.

Charke. Reade first, and then answer. What Authour, or what place can make against you, if you will of your selfe frame an interpretation for your owne purpose, without readding the wordes, or making conscience what construction you giue?

Campion. Saint Basill in other places is of a contrary iudgement : and I am sure he is not contrary to him selfe. The Apostles had sayth before they wrote, and therefore it must needs be the scope.

Charke. What kinde of answer is this ? Speake to the purpose, or confesse your insufficiencie. Basills owne wordes in this place doe evidently proue that hee is against you : answer them, or acknowledge your selfe not able to satisfie the Doctour.

Campion. Was all written, when the Apostles first taught?

Charke. Is this any answer to Basill ? Propounde no newe questions, but answer the former place so full against you.

Camp. You see mine answer.

Charke. I see and all men may see your vntrueth to shift off the matter. Basills wordes are too strong against you. To your newe question, I answer, that since the worde of God was first written, that which hath bene written, conceived sufficient matter to saluation.

Campion.

conference.

Campion. Then what needed so many additions since, of the Prophets and Apostles writings, if we had sufficient before?

Charke. The most honourable addition of the Prophetes and Apostles serued to a clearer manifestation of Christ, of whome Moses had written before, but added nothing to the substance. Iohn. 5. 46.

Here Master Lieutenant signified the time was past.

In the after noone.

The Question

Whether faith onely iustificth.

M. Charkes
prayer.



Our helpe is in the name of the Lorde, &c.
Almightie God & mercifull Father, we acknowledge against our selues, that we were conceived and borne in sinne and corruption, that wee remaine vnprofitable to any thing that is good, and most prone and ready to that which is euill in thy sight. Ignorance doeth possesse our mindes, and dulnesse ruleth in our vnderstanding, so that of our selues wee can not see into thy glorious and excellent trueth: and in our selues wee finde no health, nor hope of health. Therefore, according to thy riche mercie, O Lord, take away our sinnes, and heale all our diseases, through the righteousnesse of Iesus Christ our onely saluation. Open our eyes we beseech thee, that wee may at this time beholde, and so frame our hearts, that we may gladly embrace thy most holy trueth as thou hast left it vnto vs, by thy holy seruantes, the Prophets and Apostles. Graunt this knowledge and loue of thy trueth, with dayly increase, not onely to vs, O Lorde, who through thy grace alreadie make profession thereof, but also vnto all those that yet set them selues against the same: that they acknowledging the trueth of thy word, may cleaue to it, forsaking all superstitious vanities: and seeing the all sufficient righteousnes & sacrifice of thy only Sonne, may lay hold of it, denying the selues, & renouncing their own merites & falsely named righteousnes. Graunt vs these things, O heauenly Father, for thyne onely sonnes sake Iesus Christ our alone sauour & redeemer, in whose name we aske the, praying as he hath taught vs: Our Father, &c.

Walker. We haue in the forenoone entreated of the Canonical scriptures and of their sufficiencie. Now we haue to entreate of fapth: God graunt vs grace that we may see the trueth, and hauing fapth may rest in it to our endeleesse comfort. Let vs before we enter into the matter, declare somewhat concerning the state of the question. We holde therefore that we are iustified by fapth onely, and that freely, no other woorkes concurring for that purpose. And yet we set not downe a bare and naked fapth, as our aduersaries charge vs. For we confesse that fapth, hope, and charitie are coupled and linked together, and that loue is the greatest.

Bue

conference.

But we affirme, that sayth onely is that instrument whereby we lay holde vpon the loue of God, which is the onely foundation of our saluation. By that title therefore, we exclude all mens workes and vertues as meritorious, and onely looke to the merits of Christ.

Campion. I will declare to you my meaning also. We are agreed that God doth iustifie, and for Christs sake onely, through his grace, and through his mercie alone, through his Sacraments and through baptisme. Thus farre we agree: but here in we disagree. For we say, that when God doth iustifie, he doth giue vs of his grace three distinct giftes, sayth, hope, and charitie, and these are as three causes of iustification, and charitie a principall cause, which frameth the first act in vs. We say therefore, that as grace is put in vs in iustification, so also our righteousnesse is enlarged through good workes, and is inherent in vs. Therefore it is not true that God doeth iustifie by sayth onely.

Charke. Campion, you are not to vse your old sleight in running from the matter, and loading one thing vpon an other. The question is, whether we be iustified by faith onely: that is now

in question, and you are not to change the state of the question.

Walker. Well, let your declaration stande for defence, although we agree not. For there are sundry causes of iustification, finall, and middle. But faith is the first thing in vs that receiveth iustification, and yet it is not of vs.

That which is in question, and to be decided.

Camp. I graunt, that there are two causes then one.

Walker. Well, though I be an olde man, and haue bene long from the vniuersitie, I meane yet to examine you in the grounds of these things, and to go with you from poynt to poynt, and so we shall find out our disagreement best. I pray you what is the Erymon of sayth?

Camp. It is called sayth. *Quia fit quod dictum est*, Because it is performed that is spoken, as I take it.

Walker. That is true, *Disitur a fiendo, quia Dominus fidelis est*, Because the Lord is faithfull, standing to his worde and keeping his promise with vs. But in vs, faith is a certaintie or sure perswasion, and therefore it is called by the Apostle

Opus

clenchus,

The fourth dayes

elenchus, foundation of argument. It is therefore the ground, and before all other things that come after it, as the foundation is before the building.

Campion. I grant it: But what inferre you hereof?

Walker. This I inferre. Faith is the grounde and before all things that come after it: Ergo it is before hope and charitie.

Camp. In nature it is before them, but it doth not iustifie before they do come.

Walker. *Primus* and *posterius*, First and last, bee taken diuers wayes. It is not before *Tempore*, but *Dignitate & ordine*: Not in time, but in dignitie and order.

Camp. That is contrarie to S. Paul: For he sayth, *Charitas est maior*, Loue is greater.

Walker. You must vnderstand what Paul meaneth thereby. It is *Maior duplici respectu*: It is greater in a double respect. In respect of God, and in respect of men, and so extendeth further.

Camp. Very well: I like your causes well, but it is simple greater, and more excellent.

Walker. Let me proceede then. It is greater in that it is more necessarie to the life of man, and also in diuturnitie, because it neuer dieth, nor hath any ende.

Camp. I grant you all this. But what are those to the matter of iustification? But let me adde a thirde also, that it is *dignior*, because faith and all good workes are nothing without loue. But let vs heare your argument.

Walker. The ground is before that which is grounded vpon it, and in all good order we vse to set the most worthy first: Thus therefore I reason.

Faith is the foundation: ergo before the other.

Camp. If you meane in dignitie, it is not true. It is before in order, but not in dignitie. For the roots is not more worthy then the tree, though it be afore it.

Walker. Paul sayth *fundati & radicati in fide*, speaking of the assurance they had in their saluation. And it was necessarie they should be thus grounded and rooted in the faith, before they could bring forth the fruits of faith. The fruits were good workes, which were not the cause of their iustification, but the effects of men, engrafted

conference.

grafted in Christ & iustified already: this roote was before þ fruit.

Camp. I graunt, as before: In order, but not in worthinesse. For the fruit is more worthie then the roote.

Walker. *Omnis causa efficiens est dignior effectu*. Euerie efficient cause is more worthie then the effect.

Camp. I deny that faith is the efficient cause of good works. It is a cause antecedent, but not efficient. But we are agreed vpon this, Let vs go to another argument.

Walk. Very well, it is called *in 2. ad 2.* a sure argument of things that are not seene: a thing vndoubted.

Camp. Where is the place? It is called the foundation of euerlasting life, and an argument of things not seene, because I knowe it is by no other argument but by faith. But what in-ferre you?

Walker. You shall heare anon. What is *Subiectum fidei*, the subiect of faith? and what is *Obiectum fidei*, the object of faith? *In quo versatur fides & circa quod*: In what and about what is faith occupied?

Camp. *Subiectum fidei*, The subiect of faith, is man: to whom God hath giuen the gift of faith, and thereupon man is denominated faithfull.

Walker. Doth man consist of one part or more?

Camp. Man doth consist of bodie and soule.

Walker. Whether doe I receyue faith into my bodie or soule chiefly?

Camp. Faith is receyued into the soule by the instrument of the bodie.

Walker. What part of the soule is it receyued by? For the soule hath diuers *potentias*, faculties. Receyue we it *per memoriam*, voluntatem, or *intellectum*: by the memorie, will, or vnderstanding?

Campion. I answer, the soule doth receiue it *per intellectum*, by vnderstanding illumined by faith, because that part was properly corrupted by error.

Walker. Why then, *Intellectus humanus* is *subiectum fidei* in quo versatur, and so *intellectu nos cognoscimus deum*: Man's vnderstanding is the subiect in which faith is, and so, by the vnderstanding we know God,

Dd.ii.

Camp.

The fourth dayes

Camp. *Intellectus illuminatus per fidem cognoscimus*. I grant we know God, our vnderstanding being illumined by fayth.

Walker. And what now is *obiectum fidei*, The object of faith?

Camp. *Obiectum fidei*, is truly inspired from God.

Walker. Whether it be inspired or no, Truth is *Obiectum* still. *Aeterna veritas est deus, ergo Deus est obiectum fidei, promissio Evangelij*. Gods worde and his truth is the object of fayth, and so sayth Thomas of Aquine, one of your owne doctors.

Camp. It is no object to me, till I looke to it. God as he is to be knownen, is the object of fayth, and as he is to be loued, of charitie.

Walker. It is true: but God is incomprehensible, and wee knowe so farre of him as he hath reuealed of himselfe, as in creating to be Almighty, in gouerning to be wise, in preserving to be true, and helping to be good, and in his promises to be sure and true: and so much he hath reuealed of himselfe. And this to apprehend, is sufficient to saluation.

Camp. To apprehend these things effectually, so that we also obey his commandments, and not onely to graunt them to be true, but also to apply these things to our selues through the passion of Christ, this is saluation and sufficient.

Walker. *Hactenus conuenit*. Hitherto we agree. But Paul Rom. 4. writeth: *Non hafitans fide, & nititur promissione*. Not doubting in fayth, and leaning vpon the promise. So that there were two things: the promise, which must be beleued that it is true, and the power of God, that he is able to performe.

Camp. *Concedo*, I grant it. And that made the fayth of Abraham to be fructifull and meritorious.

Walker. What, meritorious? But that is *Perergon*. I will come neerer to the matter. You will graunt likewise, that hope hath *suum subiectum, & obiectum*, her subiect, and object.

Camp. Yea that I will, & that it is in the same soule of man, but more properly in *voluntate & affectu*, then in *Intellectu*, in the will and affection, then in the vnderstanding.

Walker. That is verie true. Nowe tell me what is *Obiectum spei*, The object of hope.

Camp. The good of the life to come.

Walker.

conference

Walker. But what was the object especially of Abrahamas hope?

Camp. The same that is common to all other men, but secondly: the coming of Christ the Messiah, promised to him and his seed after him.

Walker. What commoditie is promised to us in Christ?

Campion. Salvation, which is to haue eternall life with Christ.

Walker. This promise being beleueed and known by faith, is looked for by hope, and euery Christian man hath a great desire to this saluation promised. Either he hath or should haue, as Saint Paul, *Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo*, I desire to bee loosed, and to be with Christ.

Camp. When God hath enlightened his heart by charitie, then he hath that desire steadfast.

Walker. Well, then I will leaue the object of hope, and come to the subiect of charitie. What is the subiect of charitie?

Camp. The affection of man.

Walker. What is the object?

Camp. It is God as he is beloued, *quatenus appetitur propter se*.

Walker. Very good. Then you see the foundation and causes with the whole order of our iustification: what neede all the worlde haue any more, but first to beleue these things, next to looke for that which we hope for, thirde to loue him who hath made by this promise, and hath giuen vs these great benefites. Some see whether we are iustified by faith alone, or faith, hope, and charitie. But I leaue the prolocuting of this to Master Charke.

Camp. I graunt that this is the order of our iustification, wherein these do toyndly concurre and worke together.

Charke. You may not auoyde the point and issue of the question, as you did in the forenoone, which is, that Faith onely iustificieth. It is a thicke question, and you cannot carrie the matter so bysightly betwixt the olde Popery and the newe, but we shall easily finde you out: you say, faith onely doeth not iustifie, but with faith, hope and charitie also are requisite, as causes and merits of our iustification. This is your cunning and newe Poperie to mention

The fourth dayes

mention onely hope and charitie : yet vnder these wordes you carry the olde Poperie, which addeth popish shifte, penance, pilgrimages and other satisfactions : all which you would match with the deatch of Christ, if you might recouer your kingdome. But I haue to proue against you, that Fayth onely doeth iustifie, without the seruises and workes which you adde, as though the righteousnesse of Christ were not enough.

Camp. I denie it : for you haue it not in all the word of God, that faith onely doeth iustifie.

Charke. Surely if you acknowledge any doctrine to be true in all the Scripture, this of iustification by faith onely, will be proued most truer if any plaine, this will appeare most plaine. And thus I proue it.

1. Argu,

Every doctrine, the substance and sense whercof is contained in Scriptures, is true :

But the substance and sense of this doctrine, Faith onely doth iustifie, is contained in Scriptures :

Therefore this doctrine Faith onely doeth iustifie, is true.

Camp. I answer that this proposition Faith onely doeth iustifie, is not to be founde in all the wordes of God : and therefore I denie the Minor,

Charke. I haue affirmed in my Minor that the substance and sense of this proposition Faith onely doth iustifie, is contained in the Scriptures. For prooffe hereof I haue in the wordes of God eleven places all negative, excluding workes in the matter of our saluation. Namely Rom. chap. 9. verse 11. where the Apostle saith, Not of workes. Again chap. 11. ver. 6. Not of workes. Also Galat. 2. ver. 16. Not of workes. Moreover Rom. 4. 6. Without workes. Chap. 3. ver. 21. Without the Lawe. And so in the rest,

Camp. Let me answer them.

Here the rest of the places were demanded by them that wrote, and by others.

Charke. Turne further to these places, Rom. chap. 3. verse 20. chap. 4. verse 13. Ephe. 2. vers. 8. and verse 9. 2. Tim. 1. 9. Tit. 3. 5. beside some other.

Camp. I doe but request that I may answer them severally, for not one of them prometh your assertion.

Charke. If you answer any of them, I will subscribe to your

Eleuen places
of scripture
expresly ex-
cluding workes
from being
causes of our
iustification.

your doctrine in this point. **Camp.** Camp, you may not thinke
to face out the matter with these bare words: Dare you say our
iustification is partly of works, when the holy Ghost saith so often
plainely and exclusiue, Not of works: Without works: Not
of the lawe, but without the lawe? Herein I challenge you that
make challenge against the trueth, I will proue that this weigh-
tie and great cause, which may worthily be called the soule of the
Church, is directly and plainely set downe in all these places.
Denie it if you can.

Camp. Bring one of the eleuen places.

Charke. What say you to the Apostles conclusion Roma.
verse 20? Therefore by the deedes of the lawe, no flesh shall be
iustified.

Camp. Will you giue me leaue to answer, and to speake
somewhat generally to this?

Charke. You haue a particular place, make a particular an-
swere, plainely and to the issue: rone not in generall discourses,
that come not neere the marke.

Camp. The meaning of Saint Paul in such places, is to ex-
clude the Jewes Ceremonies, for the Jewes asseuering the ob-
seruation of the lawe, the keeping of their sacrifices and ceremo-
nies, as Circumcision, &c. to be necessarie to saluation: S. Paul
informeth the Gentiles that these things were not so necessarie,
but faith was sufficient. This he brgeth throughout the Scrip-
ture: So that faith is brged, but not faith onely. Again, by faith
is meant all Christianitie and the whole religion of Christians,
which is sufficient, without any partell of the Jewes religion.
This is one generall consideration, why Paul so often brgeth
faith, throughout the Epistle to the Romanes, and else where.
Another generall consideration is, for that the wise men of the
Gentiles did alledge their moralities as a cause of their election,
wherby Paul in the same Epistle doode spectally upon, and instant
to confute, as is afore said.

Charke. Whether of these two interpretations you will al-
lowe, it followeth by your owne exposition, that the Apostle con-
cluding for faith against works, concluded that it is faith onely
that iustifieth. And thus we see all such words as are opposed to
it. Now whereas you say that the works opposite to faith are

By Campions
owne answer
the Apostle
speaketh of
faith onely.

Here againe
it appeareth
by his answer
that the Apo-
stle teacheth
faith onely.

The fourth dayes

onely either the morall workes of the Gentiles, or the Ceremoniall of the Jewes: I will easily overthrowe the distinction.

Camp. Quertthome it then.

Charke. First, there was neuer any such error maintained in the Church, that the morall workes of the Gentiles shoulde iustifie: therefore Paul neuer laboured so much and so often to confute that error which did not trouble the Church. As for the Ceremoniall workes, the Apostles writing to the Ephesians, not infected with the obseruation of Jewish ceremonies, had no cause to barre ceremoniall workes from iustification. Therefore he teacheth that all the workes of the faithfull, euen of Abraham, are excluded from being causes of iustification, and not Ceremonies onely, or the moralities of heathen men, as you imagine against the Apostles argument and scope in those places.

Camp. The generall scope of Saint Paul, is to exclude all workes both of Jewes and Gentiles in that Epistle: but in the way of discourse, I denie not, but incidently an other answer is to be giuen.

Charke. This last part of your speech is *impertinent*: the first doeth grant all that I desire.

Camp. He excludeth the precedent workes of Abraham,

Charke. The end why workes are secluded from iustification doeth proue for me: for the Apostle in that place sheweth the small countsaile & purpose of the Lorde, to be farre otherwise then you suppose. And to remember my promise of Syllogismes, I will proue it by the very forme of the Apostles wordes.

The end and the meanes differ not:

The end of our iustification was to exclude all workes precedent or consequent from being causes of iustification:

Therefore the meanes also must exclude euen all workes precedent and consequent, going before, or comming after.

Camp. The end was not, to exclude all workes consequent.

Charke. Whatsoever it was wherein Abraham might glorie, that was excluded from iustification:

But in workes consequent or following he might glorie:

Therefore they also and all other workes whatsoever, first and last, are separated and can be no cause or piece of cause, in our iustification.

Camp.

Nothing to
the matter.

Argum. 2.

conference.

Camp. The example of Abraham, proueth that Abraham was iust befoze the couenant of Circumcision, and so, befoze the lawe of Moses was giuen: and therefore he inferreth that the Jewes must not glozie of iustification through their lawe and by the ceremonies thereof, seeing their father Abraham was iust befoze circumcision, and therefore circumcision not necessarie to iustification. But though woꝝkes voyde of Christ are nothing, yet thozowe grace they serue to iustification.

Charke. Is this your way to answer Syllogismes, to tell a tale of your owne, and expounde newe matter, leauing the question? Answer thozly.

Abraham hath nothing left to glozie in :

Therefore all woꝝkes whatsoeuer are excluded: and so, faith onely iustificieth.

Camp. That is another place.

Charke. Answer it then, be it another, or the same.

Camp. The Apostle meaneth to shewe that Abraham was iustified by woꝝkes done in grace, and not by woꝝkes without expectation of Christ, or voyde of Christ.

Charke. An open contradiction to the holy Ghost: note it. The Apostle (saith Master Campion) proueth that Abraham was iustified by woꝝkes. I reply against you with a double argument. First, Abraham had all his woꝝkes of Christ, for hee was faithfull: therefore the woꝝkes excluded, are woꝝkes wrought in grace. Secondly, he speaketh not of him as of an infidel, but as being the father of beleeuers: Therefore the Apostle excludeth not woꝝkes without expectation of Christ as you speake. Answer it, Campion.

Camp. I answer, that no woꝝkes of Abraham are excluded.

Charke. And I haue proued that all are excluded: and you can neither answer the Syllogisme, nor satisfie the place of Saint Paul. The text and argument is cleare.

If Abraham were iustified by any woꝝkes, he had wherein to glozie :

But he could not glozie in any thing, (for that were absurde by the Apostles reason:)

Therefore there were no woꝝkes of merite or iustification in him.

The fourth dayes

Camp. This is the Apostles reason. All the good workes of Abraham were founded in Christ, and by these good workes he was iustified: therefore he was iustified by Christ. For if he had bene iustified by other workes excluding Christ, he might haue gloyped, and not bene iustified by Christ.

The very
worde.

Charke. I can go no further in this argument. For *ad idem* is against you, that is, the plaine text and argument. Also I aduocate it and make all this companie witnesses, that you haue vttered in these straytes, plaine contradictorie propositions. The Apostle proueth that Abraham was iustified by workes, he leaueth nothing for Abraham to glorie in: but you leaue wherein he may both glorie, and iustifie him selfe. You haue also said the precedent workes of Abraham were excluded, and (which is the contradictorie) y^e no workes of Abraham were excluded. These things are very bad, which I the rather repeate, to lay open your contradictions for some that I thinke are present, & looke for no such weakenesse in their Champion.

Camp. What neede you aduocate: I aduocate the contrarie. And I say, that Abraham was iustified by good workes in Christ.

Charke. There is no such worde in Paul, but the contrary very often. Therefore your affirmatiue is contrarie to the holy Ghostes often repeated negatiue, Not of workes, Without workes.

Camp. I say you must repent before you die, or else you shall finde what it is to charge me with that which is not true. A particular example must haue a particular answer. His workes be not to his glorie, because his workes were founded in Christ, therefore Christ must be all to his glorie. Abraham was alreadie iust and in the fauour of God, before these things were saide, and so being iust, he was made more iust: and so first iust, and afterward iustified, and was not iustified by workes that went before his iustification, but being alreadie iust, was made more iust by workes. And this was one of his good workes, *Credidit deo*, he beleueed in God: and to say the Creede is a meritorious worke: and the worke of faith, is a worke.

Charke. These discourses you might well haue spared, and framed a short answer to my argument. For yet you answer
not

conference.

not the Apostles negative, which ouerthroweth both your affirmative & your distinction, contradictorie to the Apostles wordes. For, to be iustified without workes, as the Apostle saith, and to be iustified by workes, as you say, are contradictorie: if your wordes be true, the Apostles are false. But seeing I can haue nothing for answere but indirect speeches, or wordes full of contradicti-
on: I will giue place a while.

Walker. *Ue* that be the children of Abraham, and Christi-
ans, are iustified by the same faith that Abraham was iustified:

But Abraham was iustified by faith onely, and by nothing
else:

Therefore we are iustified by faith, and by nothing else: that
is, by faith onely.

Camp. I answere to the Maior: As Abraham being a iust
man, was made more iust by a liuing faith: so the children of A-
braham being already iustified, encrease their righteousnesse by
a liuing faith.

Walker. Doe you thinke that we are borne of our parents,
as the sonnes of Abraham, or as the sonnes of Adam? Are we
iustified by the same meanes that Abraham was, or no?

Camp. Yea, by the same meanes.

Walker. But Abraham was iustified by faith onely: there-
fore we.

Camp. I denie the Antecedent.

Walker. Paul saith, *Sed robustus factus est fide*, *Eccl. Rom. 4.*
Imputatum est illi ad iustitiam. And whether did faith giue cre-
dite to the promise of God, whole proper and onely office
it is?

Campion. To giue credite to the promise is the proper of-
fice of faith: but to giue credite to the office of God effectually,
is the office both of faith and charitie.

Walker. In the office of giuing credite, you adde that which
is not in the text.

Camp. It must needes be vnderstoode, because the Apostle
speakes of Abraham already iustified, which had not bene pos-
sible, if he had not had faith and charitie.

C c. ii.

Walker.

The fourth dayes

Walker. What made him giue glorie to God? *Robustus factus fide, dedit gloriam deo.* Being made strong in faith, he gaue glorie to God.

Campion. The good worke gaue glorie to God: For it was a good worke in Abraham.

Charke. I will vse another Argument.

3. Argum.

Whofoeuer is iustified, is iustified *ex formula*, according to the tenour eptier of the first or of the seconde couenant, (for there are but two covenants:)

But no man is iustified according to the tenour of the first couenant, which is by the workes of the lawe:

Therefore by the forme or tenour of the seconde, which is by Faith onely.

Camp. I graunt all in this sense: By Faith onely, not as Faith is distinct from charitie, but as faith is distinct from the olde lawe: so that the worde onely, doeth exclude all things impertinent to faith, and include all things inherent to faith.

Charke. *Wordes.* I will proue them to be but wordes, following my argument. The charter or stipulation of the first couenant is, Doe this, and thou shalt liue: of the seconde, The righteous man shall liue by Faith: Therefore this forme of speech in the Couenant, excludeth your implication and all ioyning of workes with faith.

Campion. I answer, that the Formula of the seconde couenant, is *Christ*.

Charke. You vnderstande not then what Formula is.

Camp. Teach me then.

Charke. I will teach you. *Christ*, I graunt, is the cause and authour of the couenant of saluation: but the forme or tenour of a couenant are *concepta & flata verba*, the set and standing wordes, whereby the condition and issue of the couenant is expressed. For example, of the first couenant published in Sinai, this is the forme: *Hoc fac & viues*, Doe this and thou shalt liue: of the seconde out of Sion, this: *Iustus ex fide viuet*, The iust shall liue by faith: which is in effect, Belceue this and thou shalt liue,

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Campion. The seconde couenant is all the religion of Christ, which includeth faith, hope, and charitie. For other wise the Eucharist were excluded. He meaneth therefore by sayth, all obedience.

Charke. This is expressely against the Apostles doctrine and argument, Galat. 3. vers. 11, 12. who there proueth, that faith and workes are opposite causes of saluation.

Camp. The second couenant is, that we shall be saved by doing those things that Christ commanded: and the first couenant was by doing all that Moses commanded. And this is the very interpretation and meaning of the Apostle, The righteous shall liue by faith, that is, by faith of Christ.

Charke. A false position. I pray you, is obedience the faith of Christ? Is it faith to fulfil that which Christ commandeth, or not rather, to beleeue that he hath promised and performed?

Camp. Yea, that it is.

Charke. How can that be, seeing the Apostle Galat. 3. vers. 12. Galat. 3. 12. doth not onely set downe the two covenantes in Sinai and Sion, with their seuerall forme of wordes, but addeth plainly, The lawe is not of sayth, and maketh workes and faith opposite causes of iustification: teaching that hee that is iustified by Christ is not iustified by workes: and he that is iustified by workes, loseth the benefit of Christ. Your wordes therefore must haue a thirde couenant, that the righteous man liueth partly by faith, and partly by workes, or else they cannot stande.

Camp. I answer to this, The lawe is not of faith: that is, the lawe as it is a naked commandement, is a burthen, and so it is not of faith, that is, it doth not giue the iustice which we haue by faith of Christ.

Charke. You haue giuen a false and grosse interpretation: and thus I proue it. If your distinction bee good, then there is either a third couenant, or the couenant of the lawe is mixed with the couenant of the Gospell: But no man will say that there is a thirde couenant, and the Apostle proueth \bar{p} in \bar{p} work of our iustification the couenant of the lawe doeth no way participate with the couenant of faith: therefore your distinction, saying, as it is a burden, is not good, and your interpretation, absurd and false.

Camp. I answer to the Minor, that the lawe is considered two

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The church of Rome must find a 3. couenant, partly by workes, partly by faith (which was neuer made:) or they must admit the second, which is faith onely.

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maner of wayes. The couenant of the lawe, as it is of the lawe, is no way mixed with the couenant of the Gospell : but as it is the couenant of the lawe eternall, of the lawe morall, of the lawe of nature, it is mixed with the new testament, & Christ hath renued it in the lawe of charitie. Moses gaue it one way: and Christ another, Moses the lawe maker: and Christ the lawe giuer. *Præceptum nouum do vobis, vt diligatis inuicem.* I giue you a newe commandement, that ye loue one another.

Charke. What absurde speeches are these, to make a substantiall distinction of the lawe in regarde of the minister, or of the time : The morall lawe and commandement of God is euermore the same in substance.

Camp. I vnderstande not what you meane. I say it is mixed: but as it is mixed, it is not called Moses law, but \S law of Christ, who gaue it more perfectly.

Charke. Againe, I say this is absurde : for the lawe of God was alway the lawe of God : and therefore the same, and requireth the same obedience : which because no man can performe, no man can liue thereby.

Camp. You are still gathering absurdities.

Charke. I must gather them where you scatter them. For what materiall difference can there be made of one and the same thing? The second couenant offereth life, onely by faith in Christ: the former onely by workes: and these cannot be confounded, as you confounde and huddle them together. Thus your answers are from the arguments.

Camp. My answers are to the purpose. What is it that you would haue more of me?

Calat. 3. 11, 12. Charke. Is your answer to the purpose, that mixeth & foundeth the two covenants, which are so opposite by \S Apostles place alleadged, that he which cleaueth to the one, can receiue nothing by the other : For the couenant of the lawe can beare no transgression : and to iustifie vs, the couenant of faith needeth no satisfaction or woorkes on our parte, Christ hauing most fully wrought and satisfied for vs. Therefore, it is the pride of man to thinke, and the error of man to teach, that the righteousness of Christ is not sufficient without addition of our righteousness.

Camp. Well, shewe mee but that negative sola, onely, in all the

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the Scriptures.

Charke. This is a newe matter: I would haue the olde first satisfied.

Camp. Shewe it me: can you not shewe it?

Charke. Seeing you would shift off the former argument by crauing a newe: I am contented to proue that exclusiue terme, which you call negative.

Whatsoever excludeth all other causes in iustification, that re- Argumēt. 4.
mayneth a sole cause:

Faith excludeth all other causes in iustification:

Faith therefore remaineth a sole and onely cause.

Camp. Proue your Minor.

Charke. The absolute negatives so often repeated in y^e scripture, Not of workes: Without workes: Not of the law: Without the lawe: do plainly exclude all other causes.

Camp. Will you by this argument exclude all causes besides faith? Then with good woorkes you will also exclude the mercy of God. What is your meaning?

Charke. What a vanitie is there in this question? Understand you not that I speake onely of causes in vs, excluding no former causes, as the eternall decree and loue of God, the obedience and righteousnesse of Christ?

Camp. Proue that *Sola fides*, onely faith is in the scripture.

Charke. I haue proued it: and why do you not answer the argument?

Camp. What argument would ye haue me answer?

Charke. The last. All other causes in vs are excluded by the worde of God, where it is sayde so often, Not of workes: Not of the lawe: therefore *Sola fides*, faith onely remaineth, by many testimonies of the Scriptures.

Campion. This *fides* is Christian obedience, and hath good woorkes.

Charke. I graunt, as the good tree hath good fruite necessarily, so sayth hath good woorkes: but these good woorkes, though they be not separated from sayth, are yet separated from being any cause of iustification with faith. As light, though it bee not separated from fire, yet it is separated from the force of burning: for the heate burneth, and not the light of fire,

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Campion. But where proue you that *sola*, onely, is in the Scripture?

Charke. My argument hath fully and plainly proued it: you neither will nor can answer it. Therefore to proue it againe, because the text Deut. 6. hath the negatiue, Thou shalt serue no strange gods: Christ Mat. 4. addeth the worde ONLY, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him ONLY shalt thou serue. So we by the same warrant and word, doe in this question of iustification take these words, Not by works, Not by the law, to import as much as faith onely: for al works whatsoever, being excluded by these negatiue speeches, faith alone remaineth.

Indefinite propositions taken generally Gal. 1. ver. 1. Not of men, that is, Not of any man. Not of works, that is, Not of any works: So all works are excluded whatsoever they be.

Camp. Why, doth he say, Thou shalt worship by faith onely?

Charke. I had hedged you in before, that you should not leape ouer to run at large in your bte questions. I said, Christ Mat. 4. thus alleadged against the tempter, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serue. This negatiue ONLY is not in Moses, yet added by Christ for interpretations sake, to expound words importing it, as I haue saide before: & so do we in the matter of iustification, finding all righteousnes by works or by the lawe so oftentimes excluded, do conclude thereupon, that faith onely doth iustifie.

Camp. The word *adorabis* doth of necessitie infer so much, and therefore Christ doth well to expound it by onely. But the worde iustifie doeth not necessarily inferre the excluding of works. And therefore you do not well to inferre, faith onely iustificieth.

Charke. What, do you not blush to bring this strange & false distinction against a cleare truth of God? Or will you ouerthrow a maine pillar of Poperie for auoiding the force of one poore argument? Doth the word *adorabis* exclude al other creatures, and necessarily inforce that God alone must be worshipped? The Campion condemneth al images, all adoration of the crucifix, all inuocation & worshipping of saintes. For to adore or to worship (saith he) importeth that adoration & worship is due to God only: & so he excludeth al creatures fro worship, euen the crucifix that they say must haue the adoration done to it, which is due to Christ himself.

Camp. What needeth al this: it soloweth not which you say. There is much difference betwene to adore & to reuerence or serue. For *latría* or to adore is due to God onely, and *dulia* to serue, is that

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that which I may peeke to any Saint, or creature.

Charke. Yes, the speech needeth, and the argument foloweth. For your verball distinction of Greeke wordes to deceiue English people, is vnlearned and impious, to saye *ἁγία* is for God onely, (which yet, as I sayde, you allowe to the bare image of Christ) and *εικόνα* for Images. Can all knowe and keepe a iust weight and measure in their deuotions, giuing no more but iust *ἁγία* to saintes? To bee short, the errour and vnlearnednesse of your distinction appeareth, that not vnderstanding the vse and proper signification of the worde *ἁγία*, you haue allowed it to be giuen to Images, being a worde that noteth as base and as slavish bondage as any worde in the Greeke tongue: so by your distinction y^e worshippers of your Church must be as bondmen to their Images. Thus you see (onely) is gathered fiftly of the negatiue, and that your distinction is both false, and also against your owne doctrine of Image worship.

Campion. I saye it is gathered from both, and the negatiue not sufficient alone, but because of the matter speaking of God.

Charke. Why then I perceiue you will borrowe of me for a neede. Before, you said *Adorabis* included onely, nowe you come to me, and say it is gathered also of the negatiue. This is all I can desire.

Camp. Fayth onely as it is a good worke, ioyned with hope and charitie, doeth iustifie.

Charke. I woulde not haue you to abuse the companie, in graunting Fayth onely, and yet you will expounde it, Fayth not alone. It is a straunge onely, that is not alone. Furthermore, Fayth as it is a good worke, doeth not iustifie, being alwayes imperfect, but as it apprehendeth the righteousnesse of Christ which is perfect: that is, as it is a piece of obedience to the Lawe of God, it doeth not iustifie, but as it apprehendeth the precious promises.

Campion. You are still charging mee with abusing the companie: but if you will giue mee leaue, I will declare howe fayth is a worke. There is an habite, which is called *Fides*, and the act of this habite within a man is *credere*, to beleue, an act interior proceeding from this habite. An act exterior proceeding

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ding from this habite, is to professe this sayth consonant to the Apostle, With the heart I beleuee, and with the mouth I confesse. Nowe, I saye, to beleuee, is fyist a good woorkke: and to professe this sayth, is also a good woorkke. As to giue an almes, to fast, to doe penance, &c. and this sayth Abraham had. And your saying is contrary to Saint Iames, *Abraham pater noster nonne ex operibus iustificatus est, offerens filium suum Deo?* Abraham our father, was he not iustified by woorkes, offering vp his sonne to God?

Charke. My saying is not contrary to Saint Iames: but your objection is *ἰσχυρὰ*, farre from the question in hande. Wee dispute what be the causes of saluation, and you runne out to the notes and effects of him that is iustified.

Campion. Let me oppose. Is it not reason that I shoulde oppose?

Charke. Yes, when you are thereto appoynted: and you shall fynde enow to answere you. Yet because you haue so often chalenged vs to answere you an argument, though I come not with any commission to suffer you to proue your erroneous doctrine: I will notwithstanding, suffer you to oppose and make an argument in this matter. First giuing the companie to vnderstande, that you woulde deceiue them with an opinion that our aduantage is great in replying: but it is not so. If your cause were good and your skill great, you might make it harder to reply, then to answere. For the answerer may with a woode deny the proposition, and so, soone take from the replier all his weapons. But make your argument.

Here Campion paused long, before he coulde frame his argument. Whereupon Master Charke sayde, a Syllogisme, Campion, a Syllogisme. Yet staying longer, Master Charke sayde, We shall haue it anone.

Camp. Syllogisme.

Camp. He that was iustified for beleueing, was iustified by a good woorkke:

But Abraham was iustified by beleueing:

Ergo Abraham was iustified by a good woorkke. The Maior is out of Saint Iames, Chap. 3. *Suppleta est Scriptura, dicens*

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gens, &c.

Charke. *Prove* your Maior in the sense we dispute of, and I will answer you to two other Syllogismes.

Camp. It is easily proved.

Charke. How can you prove it out of Saint Iames, that sayth is a good woorker? When Saint Iames sayeth, Abraham was iustified by good woorkes, his meaning is, that Abraham is declared and known to be iust according to that phrase, Wise-*Wisd. 11. 19.* dome is iustified of her children. Againe, all the people and *Luke 7. 29.* Publicans iustified God.

Campion. I will none of your interpretations: the question is cleare with me.

Charke. I woulde fayne haue of your answers, so they were to the purpose of the argument.

Campion. *Proceede*, and prove somewhat for your cause.

Charke. I haue proved more then you can answer. And because you generally slander vs, that our doctrine concerning this, and other principall pointes of religion, is against the Doctors: (although the Scriptures bee large, full and sufficient ynough, and are the onely touchstone for the tryall of sounde and true doctrine,) yet I will not sticke a little to followe you in this.

Cyprian, Basill, Ambrose, Theodoret, Hierome, Gennadius, all these Greeke and Latine Fathers, doe flatly and fully *Argu. 5.* teache, that we are saued by sayth onely.

Campion. Bring mee one of them, and I will answer you.

Charke. There is a notable place out of Basill *Παπ. τρυφωπα. 2. 1. 1.* where, of purpose disputing of humilitie, among other notes hee sheweth, that wee must attribute all to the grace and ryghteousnesse of God, who alone is our glorie, our wisdom, and our iustification. Thereupon falling into this question, hee sayeth, a man must acknowledge him selfe boyde of true righteousness, and *οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτῷ τίς ἐκ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν δικαιοσύνην.* That is, a man must knowe, that hee is iustified by onely sayth.
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in Christ, I English it to your hande, because you deale not with the Greeke.

Campion. I acknowledge your places: and yet your doctrine is viterly newe. For the Fathers when they brge that doctrine, they did it in respect they had to deale with Iewes and Infidels and Pagans. And further, by faith they meant Chistian religion, excluding Paganisme, and not excluding charitie and good woorkes.

Rom. 1.7.
Galat. 1.2.
Ephc. 1.1. & 5.8

Charke. Our doctrine newe, and yet the auncient Doctours teache it: I aske with what conscience or iudgement you can saye it: Dyd the Apostle writing to the Romanes, to the Galathians, to the Ephesians, Churches so effectually called and reclaymed from Gentilisme, that he termeth the Saintes and brethren, and affirmeth that they are no more darkenesse, but light in the Lorde: Did the Apostle (I say) writing to them, deale as against Iewes and Pagans? I maruayle you blush not at so fowle a shift and so palpable an errour. But will you not vouchsafe the Doctours an answer? shall they be sent away before they haue receiued their answer?

Camp. They wrote vpon occasion against an heretike, hauing affiance in woorkes.

Charke. Be it so: then they write as well against Papists, hauing affiance in woorkes.

Camp. They had affiance in woorkes done without Christ, and are therefore reproboued by the Fathers.

Charke. This is onely sayde, to shake them all off with one false distinction. Agayne, it was a straunge occasion you speake of, that made the Fathers write an vntrueth. But rather you are straunge to expounde them directly against their wordes, saying, Faith onely doeth iustifie. I could here helpe you with a better answer, which the better learned on your side vse to this obiection.

Camp. It was the heresie, that most troubled Christians in the Primitive Church.

Charke. This is a newe question, and in doubt. But howe will you ever bee able to proue that the Apostle disputing for iustification by faith against iustification by woorkes, excludeth onely Paganisme? Answer this.

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Camp. I haue answered.

Charke. In deede you haue stil somewhat to say, but not to answer that point of y^e argument which most woundeth your cause. Therefore a Syllogisme against your shift.

The Apostle excludeth the morall Lawe from iustifying:

Argu. 6.

Therefore your distinction is wast.

Camp. But he excludeth not charitie and good workes.

Charke. What a But is that? Is there any charitie, or be there any good workes not conteyned vnder the morall and eternall Lawe of God? If the deedes of the morall Lawe be shut out from the causes of our iustification by S. Paul, what dooze can you open to let them in againe?

Camp. I say, charitie and good workes are not excluded.

Charke. And I say, this is still to begge the question, and not to answer the Argument. So your doctrine is sufficiently overthrowen.

Walker. Besides a great sort of places that Master Charke hath brought, Sadolet one of your owne, hath a plaine place in Epist. ad Rom. *Abraham attulit tantum fidem non sua opera.* And againe, *Quantum quisque affert de sua iustitia, tantum desert de diuina beneficentia.* &c.

Abraham brought onely faith, not his workes.

Camp. It is but lost time that you alleadge Sadolet. Hee was but a man of late peres, whose credite is not to be set against the determination of the whole Church: besides, his meaning was, that man should not trust in his owne workes.

Howe much euerie man bringeth of his owne iustice, so much he taketh away of Gods goodnesse.

Walker. You will allowe no man, neither those that are against you, nor with you. But if he had dealt as soundly in other things as in this, he had bene to be strived withall. He sheweth by an apt similitude, that if a man take a Potte hauing some troubled water in it, and goeth to the cleare water to fill it, the troubled foule water in the potte doeth not become cleare, but rather troubleth and defileth the water which was cleare: Euen so, the more we bring of our owne, the lesse we attribute to God, and the lesse we receiue from God. Wee must bring nothing of our owne to God. It is troubled water, when we mingle our workes and righteousness with Gods.

Camp. Let the similitude be rehearsed. It is an apt similitude. He that commeth to be iustified by Christ must not bring

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troubled water, but cleare: that is, those good workes that he did before, and those prayers that he made before, his morall deedes, his almes, his fasting, &c. For all the morall workes that are done before, they are troubled water: but those we doe after wards, they are made cleare in the Passion of Christ, although they be not in all respects perfect.

Charke. I wil so proue that good workes haue no place in iustification, that you shall not be able to answer: and because the Doctors can haue no answer, I will returne to Scripture.

Argu. 7.

Sanctification and iustification are two sundry things:

Therefore good workes, the fruites of sanctification, haue no place in iustification.

Camp. Make your Syllogisme.

Charke. Whatsoeuer is an effect of sanctification that followeth, is not a cause of iustification that went before:

But charitie and other good workes are effectes of sanctification which followeth:

Therefore they be no causes of iustification which goeth before. Answer if you can.

Camp. I deny that they are onely of sanctification: they are of both.

Charke. They be *disparata*, handled by the Apostle as diuers things: also the one, some degrees before the other. Therefore you doe euil to confound *priora & posteriora*, the effectes of the latter, with the causes of the former.

Camp. Is this the argument that can not be answered? I say, whosoever is iustified, is also sanctified: and so, good workes proceede from both.

Charke. Let all men marke the absurditie of this speache. If good workes proceede from sanctification, and sanctification from iustification, howe can good workes goe before them both, as a cause, seeing they come after both, as an effect? Thus you are entoyled.

Here was an open misliking of the answeres, and some speech of making an ende. Then M^r. Charke saide, I woulde faine vse one argument moze, to turne Campion out of all his shifts, and to let the company vnderstand his weakenes, and especially the weakenes of his cause.

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Campion, Let vs heare what argument this is, whereof you make such bragges.

Charke, The authoritie and trueth of scriptures for my cause maketh me so confident. Therefore marke the argument well,

We are iustified by Imputation onely:

Arg. 8.

Therefore by faith onely.

Camp, *Nego Maiorem*. I deny your Maior.

Charke. I proue the Maior, if you so call it.

Christ died onely by Imputation:

Therefore we liue onely by Imputation, and are consequently iustified by faith onely.

Camp. I deny the argument.

Charke. I proue it by Analogie.

Christ died onely through the imputation of our sinne:

Therefore if we liue, we liue onely by the imputation of his righteousnes.

And therefore, to say that we liue by any imputation of our owne good workes, is as much as to say, that Christ died by imputation of some of his owne sinne. For this analogie and proportion betwixt the causes of Christes death, and the causes of our life, doth necessarily hold, and must diligently be obserued.

Camp. I answer to your similitude.

Charke. If it be a similitude, it is by good analogie and demonstration of trueth out of the scripture. It is you that abuse the hearers with similitudes that are not *similia*: my argument is demonstratiue.

Camp. I answer then to your analogie. So farre as the scripture doth intend, it holdeth. Like as Christ did beare our sinnes, so we haue in vs the iustice of Christ. The righteousnes that we haue, is giuen vs by Christ. Christ had our sinnes by imputation onely, because hee was not capable of sinnes inherent. But we are capable of iustice inherent, which Christ doth giue vs, and therefore in vs we haue the iustice of Christ, both by imputation, and also inherent, giuen by him. And therefore it is called the iustice, *Non quia ipse iustus est, sed quia nos iustos fecit*: Not whereby he is iust, but whereby he hath made vs iust.

Walker, Sinnes inherent in vs, and righteousnes inherent in Christ:

Camp,

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Camp, May, I say righteousness inherēt in vs giuē by Christ.

Charke. Campion ye answere not the argument, but in place of answering you lay downe newe positions. Your inherent righteousness is not graunted you: if it were, yet it followeth not that it should bee a fellowe cause in our iustification with Christes righteousness.

Camp, I say we haue inherent righteousness, and Christ had not inherent sinne.

Charke. What answere is this to my argument? If we had it, yet it followeth no more that it should iustifie vs, then the inherent sparke and light of nature which is least, should make vs able of our selues clearely to behold the hidden mysterie of the grace and mercie of God, reuealed onely by sayth in the Gospell.

Camp, Will you not admitte an answere?

Charke. You are graueled. It is no answere to bring a newe and false position, & that not applied to the argument. But I will not let you rest in this starting hole, you shall haue Syllogismes.

Our sinnes alone were of full sufficient force by imputation to condemne Christ vnto death:

Therefore his righteousness alone is of full and sufficient force by imputation to iustifie vs vnto life. Againe, and shortly,

In Christ there was no inherent sinne to be any cause of his condemning:

Therefore in vs is no inherent righteousness to be any cause of our iustifying.

Camp. I dispute not how he might haue iustified, but by what meanes he doth iustifie vs.

Charke. This is plainly *αδελφον*, to say the least. Answere the reasons. Doe my arguments proue howe he was able, or rather proue they not most manifestly howe he hath iustified vs? But as the Scribes & Pharisees supposed some inherent sinne in Christ, so you their successors, suppose some inherent righteousness in vs: and we shall as truely liue by this, as he iustly dyed for that.

Campion, I deny the argument, because his will is otherwise.

Charke. Here againe is a newe proposition brought in place of an answere. But I haue proued that G O D hath done it: and therein reuealed his will which is most holy and most perfect in al proportion of iustice.

Camp.

To trifle and
shift by child-
dish words.

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Camp. I denie it, For we haue inherent righteousness.

Charke. I would you would so answer, as men might see with what iudgement ye vse so many denials. But I will followe my argument, and proue there is no inherent righteousness in vs, whereby we are more or lesse iustified.

If we haue any inherent righteousness as a fellowe or helping cause of our iustification, then the righteousness of Christ is not alone without vs so full and absolute to our saluation, as were our sinnes to cause his condemnation :

But Christs righteousness alone without our inherent righteousness, is de facto, as full and perfect every way :

Therefore we are aswell de facto, iustified only by the imputation of his righteousness, as he was condemned only for the imputation of our sinne,

Camp. I denie the Minor.

Charke. You deny it manifestly against the doctrine of the Apostle. Rom. 5. teaching that there was more force in the righteousness of Christ to saluation, then was in our sinne to condemnation. Whereupon you are turned out of your shifts, and must confesse, that as Christ was condemned only for the imputation of our sinne, without any inherent sinne of his owne : so are we iustified onely by the imputation of his righteousness, without any inherent righteousness of ours. Which who so denieth, he shalbe found to match mans supposed righteousness, with the righteousness of God : and to exalt flesh and blood against the almightie.

Here Master Lieutenant signified the time was past.

Let vs conclude with prayer.

A Lmightie God & most mercifull Father, we giue thee humble and heartie thanks in the name of Iesus Christ, for all thy goodnes, specially, for the alone & all sufficient sacrifice of Iesus Christ, beseeching thee, that renouncing all opinion of any righteousness of our owne, we may by faith lay hold of his righteousness to our euerlasting saluation. Also we thanke thee for the inestimable treasure and armour of thy holy word, whereby thou

Ggi.

makest

makest thy children rich in all spirituall and heavenly wisdom, inhabling them, euen the weakeſt of them, to triumphe againſt proud and bold ignorance, againſt the deceitfull and lying ſpirits gone out into the world in theſe laſt times, to deceiue thoſe that receiue not the knowledge and loue of thy truth. Moreover, good Lord, as it hath pleaſed thee to vouchſafe ſome bleſſing vpon our labours this day, for which we likewiſe giue thee thanks: ſo we beſeech thee yet further to bleſſe them, that the truth may be more and more precious to thy children, and that they which are yet without, may either acknowledge the power and light of thy Goſpell, if they belong to thee: or being none of thine, may ſtand conuicted in their owne conſcience, as children of darkeneſſe, and haue their mouthes ſtopped, which they ſo open againſt the light and truth of thy moſt holy word.

Graunt vs theſe things, O Lorde, and what-

ſoeuer elſe may ſerue to thy glory

and our ſaluation,

through

Ieſus Chriſt our

only Lord

and

Sauour, Amen.

I. Walker.

W. Charke.





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to the Queenes most excel-
lent Maiestie.

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